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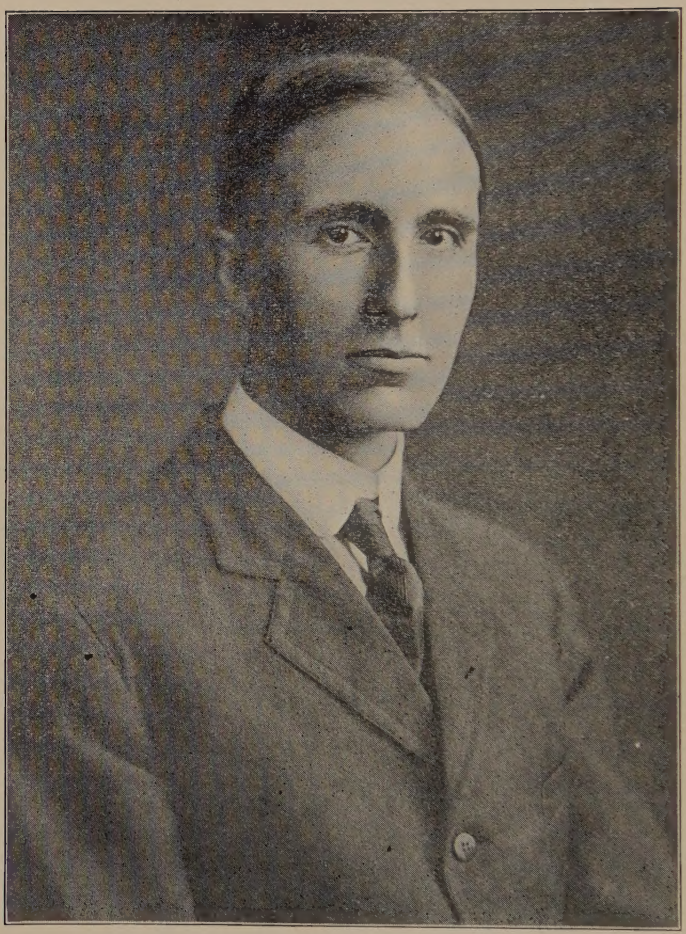

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph. D.

Professor of history in the University of Illinois

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

AT ITS

FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

Held October 26, 1911

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MADISON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1912

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Contents

	Page
Officers, 1911–12	7
Committees	8
Library Staff	9
Proceedings of Fifty-ninth Annual Meeting:	
Business session	11
Open session	12
Executive Committee meeting	15

Appendix

Report of Executive Committee:	
Summary	18
Death of Ex-President McCormick	18
Death of Curators Keyes and Bashford	20
Financial condition:	
State appropriations	22
Private funds	23
The Library:	
Statistics of accessions	25
Order department	25
Catalogue department	26
Maps and Manuscripts department	26
Public Documents department	28
Newspaper department	29
The Museum:	
Development	30
Accessions	30
Special exhibits	31
Educational activities	31
Archæology	32
Publications:	
Bulletins of Information	33
Wisconsin Historical Collections	33
Draper Series	34
Annotated Newspaper Catalogue	34
Wisconsin History Commission	35

Contents

	Page
REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Continued	
Administrative details:	
Professional meetings, etc.	35
Search for Wisconsin manuscripts in Canada	36
The northwest wing provided for	42
TREASURER'S REPORT	44
SUPERINTENDENT'S FISCAL REPORT	47
REPORTS OF AUXILIARY SOCIETIES:	
Lafayette County Historical Society	54
Manitowoc County Historical Society	55
Sauk County Historical Society	56
Trempealeau County Historical Society	57
Waukesha County Historical Society	58
HISTORICAL PAPERS:	
Some Aspects of Politics in the Middle West, 1860—72, by Evarts B. Greene	60
The Admission of the "Omnibus" States, 1889–90, by Frederic L. Paxson	77
Genesis of Steamboating on Western Rivers, by George B. Merrick and William R. Tibbals	97
An episode of the War of 1812, by Joseph Ducharme	149
Recollections of Oneida Indians, 1840–45, by Henry Colman	152
Indians of Manitowoc County, by James S. Anderson	160
Oshkosh, Menominee Sachem, by Reuben G. Thwaites	170
The story of the twine binder, by Frank B. Swingle	177
A visit to Fort Howard in 1836, by Elizabeth Smith Martin	181
A wagon journey from Ohio to Wisconsin in 1846, by Sarah Foote	188
Recollections of a pioneer woman of La Crosse, by Augusta Levy (edited by Albert H. Sanford)	201
Another La Crosse pioneer's statement, by John S. Harris	216
INDEX TO HISTORICAL PAPERS	219

Illustrations

	Page
Portrait of Evarts Boutell Greene	*Frontispiece*
Collection of Norwegian articles	30
Trunks, hampers, and carpet-bags	32
Old andirons and cooking utensils	32
Map of the Omnibus States	77
Portrait of George Byron Merrick	97
Portrait of William R. Tibbals	98
Early steamboat business card and tickets	108
Steamer "Milwaukee"	110
Steamer "War Eagle"	110
View of Bad Axe (now Genoa)	112
Portrait of Daniel Smith Harris	128
Portrait of William Kelly	132
Portrait of Henry Root Colman	152
Portrait of Daniel Bread	156
Portrait of James Sibree Anderson	160
Portrait of Waumegasako (The Wampum)	162
Bronze statue of Oshkosh	170
Sir William Johnson's certificate to Ogemawnee	172
Nathan Myrick's house at La Crosse, 1842	202

Officers, 1911-12.

President

Lucius Charles Colman, B. A.	La Crosse

Vice Presidents

Hon. Emil Baensch	Manitowoc
Hon. Burr W. Jones, M. A.	Madison
Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan	McMillan
Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B.	Eau Claire
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Secretary and Superintendent

Reuben G. Thwaites, LL. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

Isaac S. Bradley, B. S.	Madison

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. Francis E. McGovern	Governor
Hon. James A. Frear	Secretary of State
Hon. Andrew H. Dahl	State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1912

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.	Col. Hiram Hayes
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.	Rev. Patrick B. Knox
William K. Coffin, M. S.	Maj. Frank W. Oakley
Richard T. Ely, LL. D.	Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.	William W. Wight, M. A.

Officers of the Society, 1911-1912

Term expires at annual meeting in 1913

Jairus H. Carpenter, LL.D.
Victor Coffin, Ph. D.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.
Matthew S. Dudgeon, M. A.
Carl R. Fish, Ph. D.
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan
Dana C. Munro, M. A.
William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
William J. Starr, LL. B.
Edward B. Steensland, Esq.
Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1914

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.
Hon. Emil Baensch
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.
Alfred A. Jackson. M. A.
Burr W. Jones, M. A.
Hon. John Luchsinger
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
John B. Parkinson, M. A.
Frederic L. Paxson, Ph. D.
William A. Scott, Ph. D.

Executive Committee

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer (forty-one in all) constitute the executive committee.

Standing committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Munroe (chairman), Stevens, Knox, Dudgeon, and the Secretary (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Conover (chairman), Van Hise, Ely, V. Coffin, and the Secretary (ex officio).

Printing and Publication—Fish (chairman), Dudgeon, Paxson, Scott, and the Secretary (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Brown, Scott, and Brittingham.

Advisory Committee (ex officio)—Monroe, Conover, Fish, and Morris.

Special committees (of the Society)

Auditing—Steensland (chairman), A. B. Morris, and A. E. Proudfit.

Relations with State University—Thwaites (chairman), Oakley, Haugen, Siebecker, and Jones.

Building of Northwest Wing—Thwaites (chairman), Brown, Dudgeon, Hanks, and Steensland.

Library Staff

Superintendent

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D.

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

Isaac Samuel Bradley, B. S.

Library Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

Annie Amelia Nunns, B. A.	—*Superintendent's Secretary*
Mary Stuart Foster, B. L.	—*Chief of Reading Room and Stack*
Iva Alice Welsh, B. L.	—*Chief Cataloguer*
Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D.	—*Editorial Assistant*
Anna Jacobsen, B. L.	—*Cataloguer*
Edna Couper Adams, B. L.	—*Reading Room and Stack*
Daisy Girdham Beecroft	—*Chief of Order Department*
Kate Lewis	—*Cataloguer*
Charles Edward Brown	—*Chief of Museum Department*
Lillian Jane Beecroft, B. L.	—*Chief of Newspaper Department*
Mable Clare Wrake, M. A.	—*Maps and Mss. Department*
Ada Tyng Griswold, M. A.	—*Editorial Assistant*
Margaret Reynolds	—*Chief of Periodical Department*
Anna Wells Evans	—*Chief of Public Documents Dept.*
Bessie Hoard Dexter, B. A.	—*General Assistant*
Mary Anne Martin, B. A.	—*General Assistant*
Eleanore Eunice Lothrop, B. A.	—*Superintendent's Clerk*
Fred Merk, B. A.	—*Editorial Assistant*
Robert Berigan	—*General Assistant*

Student Assistants

*Roy Harrison Proctor	—*Reading Room and Stack*
*Marie Nuzum Foulkes	—*Reading Room and Stack*
*Florenz G. Altendorf	—*Public Documents*

*On part time.

Library Staff

Care Takers

Magnus Nelson	—*Head Jan. and Gen. Mechanic*
Irving Robson	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Martin Lyons	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Bennie Butts	—*Office Messenger*
Tillie Gunkel	—*Housekeeper*
Elizabeth Alsheimer, Anna Mausbach, Gertrude Nelson, Mary Schmelzer	—*Housemaids*
Robert Willett	—*Elevator Attendant*
*Barbara Brisbois, Ida Steffen, Gus Alsheimer, Russell Lamphere	—*Cloak Room Attendants*

Main Library open—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, University vacations, and summer months: 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.
Holidays, University vacations, and summer months, as per special announcements.

Departmental Libraries (Maps, Manuscripts, Patents, and Newspaper Files) open—Daily, with above exceptions, 9–12 A. M., 1–5 P. M.

Museum open—Daily except Sundays and holidays: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcements.

*During session of the University.

Fifty-Ninth Annual Meeting[1]

The business session of the fifty-ninth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the lecture room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, upon Thursday afternoon, October 26, 1911, commencing at four o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the north hall of the Society's Museum, commencing at half-past seven. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

Vice-President Winslow took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Reports

The superintendent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance presented his report, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1911; to which in its turn was attached the favorable report of the Auditing Committee (Chairman E. B. Steensland) upon the treasurer's accounts. These several reports were adopted. (See Appendix for texts.)

The superintendent presented his fiscal report for the year ending June 30, 1911, all accounts having been audited by the secretary of state and warrants therefor paid by the state treasurer. (See Appendix for text.)

[1] The report of the proceedings here published, is condensed from the official Ms. records of the Society.

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered to be printed in the Proceedings. (See Appendix for texts.)

Curators Elected

Messrs. John B. Parkinson, P. H. Conley, and A. C. Beckwith were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected for the terms indicated:

For term ending at annual meeting in 1913, to succeed Robert McKee Bashford, deceased, Edward B. Steensland of Madison.

For term ending at annual meeting in 1914: Alfred A. Jackson of Janesville; Emil Baensch of Manitowoc; John Luchsinger of Monroe; Most Rev. S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee; Rasmus B. Anderson, Charles N. Brown, Frederic K. Conover, Burr W. Jones, J. Howard Palmer, John B. Parkinson, Frederic L. Paxson, and William A. Scott of Madison.

Amendment to Constitution

Chairman Munro of the Library Committee offered the following amendment to the constitution, which under the rules lies over for action until the annual meeting for 1912:

Amend by adding the following words to section 2, article iii:

All Annual Members who have paid their dues for at least twenty-five consecutive years shall be promoted to the rank of Life Membership. Libraries and other educational institutions not having exchange relations with the Society may become Institutional Members upon payment of five dollars per annum or fifty dollars for continuous membership.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Open Session

The open session of the Society commenced at 7:30 P. M. in the north hall of the Museum, Vice-President Winslow in the chair.

In opening the meeting the vice-president spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is not my purpose to delay by any lengthy address that pleasure which awaits us all in the paper which we are to hear this evening. Nevertheless I may perhaps be pardoned for saying a few words, in accordance with a time-honored custom, at the opening of this annual meeting of the Society.

We are told in the sacred volume that the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which when it is sown in the earth is the least of all seeds, but which springeth up and becometh a great tree, so that the fowls of the air lodge in its branches.

The same simile might not inaptly be applied to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Its beginnings were indeed of the most modest, if not insignificant, nature; no great enterprise could have had a more unpromising origin; but now, after the lapse of three-score years, it stands, if not actually in the lead, at least in the very front rank and among the leaders of such societies in the nation. It has truly become a great tree of knowledge—a rich storehouse whose literary and historical treasures are sought and consulted by the scholars of the nation.

Faintly we may imagine, but I am sure we could not adequately appreciate, the astonishment with which the founders of this Society, could they return to us now, would gaze upon the present stately building and its hundreds of thousands of volumes. Doubtless they hoped for great results, but they could hardly have anticipated then the splendor of the accomplished fact of today. They builded far better than they knew.

The advance of the Society during the past year has been steady and in all ways gratifying. The Library now numbers somewhat more than 341,000 titles, as compared with about 331,000 titles a year ago. While the increase has not been so great in numbers as in some preceding years, the quality has been unusually high. Especially has this been the case with the Americana which has been added during the year. In this department the Society still maintains its precedence over any other library in the country, so far as material west of the Alleghany Mountains is concerned.

The growth of the Museum has been very great, thus demonstrating the wisdom of placing that department in the hands of an expert. Some four thousand specimens of one kind or another have been added during the year, and the Museum is becoming of very definite and substantial service both to the University and to the educational system of the State. Its usefulness has been fitly recognized by the Legislature by the making of a permanent annual appropriation of two thousand dollars for its maintenance and equipment.

In this connection, also, may be mentioned with satisfaction the fact that the Legislature has increased the annual appropriations for purchasing books and general administrative purposes by the sums of one and two thousand dollars respectively.

The crowning accomplishment of the year in a material way, however, has been the securing of the legislative appropriation of $162,000 for the construction of the remaining book-stack wing. The congestion of books was becoming very serious, and even now it will be necessary to store some of our accumulations in outside buildings pending the completion of the new wing; it is very fortunate for the Society, therefore, that its needs have finally been recognized and met by the Legislature.

The construction of this wing will complete the beautiful building

which not so many years ago seemed ample to house the Society's treasures for an indefinite period in the future. It is becoming each year more apparent that the time when even the completed building will be filled with the Society's treasures to the point of crowding, is not many years distant. This will present a grave problem when it arises, but we are not required to solve that problem now. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

The prospects of the Society were never brighter than they are to-day, its usefulness never so great. To maintain its present acknowledged leadership, and to increase its usefulness from year to year, must be our constant endeavor in the future as it has been in the past. With so brilliant a record behind us, the Society's future can hardly be open to serious donbt; if we but do our duty, it is absolutely assured.

Historical Papers Presented

At the conclusion of the vice-president's remarks, Dr. Evarts Boutell Greene of the University of Illinois read an address on "Some aspects of politics in the Middle West, 1860–72."

The following papers were then presented by title, and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings* for the year:

The admission of the "omnibus" states, 1889–90, by Dr. Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

Genesis of Western river steamboating, and personnel of Upper River officers from earliest times to 1870, by George B. Merrick of Madison and Capt. William R. Tibbals of Dubuque, Iowa.

The story of the twine binder, by Frank B. Swingle.

An episode of the War of 1812–15, by Joseph Ducharme.

A visit to Fort Howard in 1836, by Elizabeth Smith Martin.

Recollections of the Oneida Indians, 1840–45, by the Rev. Henry Colman of Milwaukee.

Indians of Manitowoc County, by the Hon. J. S. Anderson of Manitowoc.

A journey from Ohio to Wisconsin in 1845, by Sarah Foote.

Recollections of a pioneer woman in La Crosse, by Mrs. Augusta Levy, edited by Prof. A. H. Sanford of La Crosse.

Recollections of another La Crosse pioneer, by John S. Harris.

Reception

Upon the conclusion of the literary exercises, the resident curators tendered an informal reception to those in attendance at the meeting. The ladies of the Society's staff served refreshments, and the Museum was opened throughout.

Fifty-Ninth Annual Meeting

Executive Committee Meeting

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the lecture room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's meeting.

New Members Elected

The elections of the following persons to membership in the Society were confirmed:

Life

Appleton—Charles S. Boyd.
Ashland—Carl A. Rudquist, Benjamin S. Smith.
Eau Claire—Austin A. Skolas.
Kiel—Albert W. Dassler.
Madison—W. W. Gilman, Richard Lloyd Jones.
Manitowoc—Miss Sally M. Lucas.
Flint, Michigan—Edwin O. Wood.

Annual

Ashland—Vivian T. Thayer.
Brodhead—Lewis J. Stair.
Bruce—Willison A. Blackburn.
Deerfield—Nels Holman.
Dodgeville—Marshall E. Fraser.
Florence—Lewis A. Jones.
Frederic—Louis A. Copeland.
Kiel—Jacob B. Laun.
La Crosse—John Brindley, Frank Winter.
Madison—John Barnes, Herman C. Bumpus, Winfred T. Root.
Maiden Rock—Walter C. Owen.
Mayville—Emil H. Naber.
Milwaukee—William H. Bennett, Fred C. Ellis, Mrs. Edward Ferguson, Amos P. Foster, William P. Kenny, Emanuel L. Philipp.
Mineral Point—Thomas M. Priestly.
Necedah—Harry W. Barney.
Nekoosa—Will H. Guilford, John P. Nash.
Platteville—Arthur W. Kopp.
Rhinelander—Matthew N. Stapleton.
River Falls—Jesse H. Ames.
Rothschild—David C. Everest.
Stoughton—Christian J. Melaas.
Two Rivers—William S. Bremer.
Viroqua—Henry J. Suttle.
West Bend—Carl Quickert.

Building Committee

Chairman Thwaites of the Special Building Committee reported the resignation therefrom of Maj. F. W. Oakley. Mr. Edward B. Steensland was elected a member of the committee to fill the vacancy.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the fifty-ninth annual meeting, October 26, 1911)

Summary

Within the past year we have lost by death ex-President Robert Laird McCormick and Curators Keyes and Bashford. The several private funds of the Society now aggregate $66,112.81, a gain in twelve months of $2,632.57. The Library accessions of the year were 9,639 titles (books and pamphlets together), which is somewhat below the average for the past decade; the Library now contains 341,206 titles. A summary of the Library's departmental activities is presented, showing steady growth not only in accessions but in demands for service to the public and in more efficient administrative methods. A department of orders and supplies is about to be inaugurated. The Library staff regrets to report the death of Miss Emma Helen Blair, sometime chief of the department of maps and manuscripts. A search has recently been undertaken for the Society in the archives of Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa for documentary material illustrative of Wisconsin history before 1836, and the results will soon appear in the *Collections*. Several interesting publications have been issued during the year by the Society's editorial staff. The Legislature of 1911 added $5,000 to the annual appropriations made to the Society by the State—$2,000 of which is for the Museum. It also voted a grant of $162,000 for the construction of the long-needed northwest book-stack wing.

Death of Ex-President McCormick

We were pained to learn of the death at Sacramento, California, on February 5, 1911, of the Hon. Robert Laird McCormick, sometime president of this Society. Mr. McCormick was born October 29, 1847, of Colonial and Revolutionary Scotch-Irish

parentage, on a farm near the Pennsylvania town of Lock Haven. After graduating from a local academy the young man began work on the Pennsylvania & Erie railway as a station clerk; but after a few years he went (1868) to Winona, Minnesota, where he was employed as local manager for a prominent lumber-manufacturing concern in which an uncle, William Harris Laird, was largely interested. From 1874 to 1881 he conducted for himself a retail lumber yard at Waseca, Minnesota, and gradually extended his activities into other lines of business, such as quarrying, grain-buying, and iron-mining. In 1881 he assisted in organizing the Northern Wisconsin Lumber Company, with headquarters at Hayward, in this State. Frederick Weyerhauser was the leading capitalist in the venture, but Mr. McCormick was the company's secretary and treasurer, and had a considerable holding of stock. In 1900 he helped to organize the Weyerhauser Timber Company, capitalized at $12,500,000, owning and operating large areas of pine lands in the State of Washington; its headquarters were established at Tacoma, whither he himself removed in 1904. He also had extensive interests in other lumbering enterprises both in Wisconsin and Washington.

During his residence in Waseca, Mr. McCormick served for several years as mayor of that city. In 1880 he began a service of two terms in the Minnesota senate. In Hayward he evinced deep concern in local educational matters, being president both of the school board and the public library board. From 1893 to 1900 he was a vice-president of this Society, and from December, 1901, till October 27, 1904, its president. His participation in our affairs was active, and we owe to his public-spirited generosity two remarkable canvases which grace the walls of the Museum—"The Landfall of Nicolet in Wisconsin" and "De Langlade Leading the Wisconsin Indians at Braddock's Defeat." Both of these are the work of the well-known artist of Indian life, Edward Willard Deming of New York City. After taking up his residence in Washington, Mr. McCormick was elected president of the Washington State Historical Society, a position held by him at the time of his death.

Our late colleague was a man of large wealth and widespread business connections, but his tastes were democratic, he had a lively interest in the details of popular education, and his liberality toward enterprises of this character could always be drawn

on. During his years of service in our behalf, his vigorous, yet genial nature, and his broad outlook on life were gratefully appreciated by the administration of the Society.

Deaths of Curators Keyes and Bashford

Your Committee has also lost by death two of the most active of its number—Col. Elisha William Keyes and the Hon. Robert McKee Bashford.

Colonel Keyes passed away on November 29, 1910. Having been born at Northfield, Vermont, on January 23, 1828, he was at the time of death in his eighty-third year. He came to Wisconsin with his parents in June, 1837, the family being among the pioneer settlers of Wisconsin Territory. For the first few months they resided in the then small village of Milwaukee, but in September of that year cast their fortunes with the earliest farmers in the neighborhood of Lake Mills. Young Keyes attended a seminary in Beloit during the winters of 1847–50. In the latter year he came to Madison to study law and was admitted to the bar in the autumn of 1851. Having an intense interest in politics, Mr. Keyes soon began to spend almost as much time and energy in the local concerns of the Republican party as in the affairs of his profession. However, for several years he enjoyed a considerable legal practice, and won a State-wide reputation not only as a politician but as a lawyer. He was district attorney of Dane County in 1859-60, but in 1861 entered upon what was substantially his profession for the greater part of his subsequent life; for in that year he was appointed by President Lincoln as postmaster of Madison. He was reappointed to the office by Presidents Johnson, Grant, Hayes, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, and was its incumbent at the time of his death. His long and faithful public service in this capacity deservedly won for him the reputation of being one of the most efficient postmasters in the State, as he certainly was one of the most popular.

In the period prior to the present federal civil service regulations, government officials were usually political managers; such, Colonel Keyes became *par excellence*. In 1865, 1866, and again in 1886 he was elected mayor of Madison; he was chairman of the Wisconsin delegation in the Republican national conventions at Philadelphia (1872), Cincinnati (1876), and Chicago (1884); he served with remarkable success for ten years (1868-78) as chairman

of the Republican State central committee; was a member of the State assembly in 1882; was municipal judge of Dane County, 1889-93—hence his familiar title of "Judge"; twelve years (1877-89) was a regent of the University of Wisconsin, much of that time being chairman of the executive committee of the board; and twice (1879 and 1881) was a barely-defeated candidate for the United States Senate.

His interest in the work of this Society was always keen; he served as a curator from 1868–98 and from 1909 till his death—none of his living colleagues began their duties at so early a date. Judge Keyes's memory of the Territorial and early State history of Wisconsin was unexcelled, and he frequently contributed interesting and vigorously-related reminiscences to the press, to public meetings of pioneers, as well as to the *Proceedings* of this Society. Personally, the Judge was a man of generous and sympathetic temperament, of quite unusual mental force and insight, of well developed and picturesque physique. For a half century past, he has easily been one of the most notable citizens of our State.

Judge Bashford was also for many years one of the best-known men in Wisconsin. Born in Lafayette County on December 31, 1845, he died at his home in Madison on January 30, 1911, in his sixty-sixth year. Obtaining his B. A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1870, he graduated from the law school of that institution a year later, and was awarded his M. A. in 1874. Mr. Bashford did not at first enter upon the practice of his profession. His first five years after graduation from the law school were chiefly spent in editorial work on the Madison *Democrat*, although he also served as private secretary to Gov. William R. Taylor (1874–76). On turning to legal practice in 1876, Mr. Bashford soon became a prominent figure at the bar. He was one of the revisors of the statutes in 1877-78; city attorney of Madison from 1881-85; mayor of the city in 1890-91; and a State senator in the the legislative session of 1893-95.

His service as a curator of this Society began in 1878, at first lasting until 1881 when he removed to Chicago, becoming a partner of Daniel K. Tenney. Returning to practice in Madison after a few years, he was re-elected a curator (1895) and held the position until his death. From 1881-85 he was also the Society's recording secretary—the greater part of the period *in absentia*. In 1908 he was appointed by Governor Davidson as a justice of

the State supreme court and served for about a year. Judge Bashford was a man of marked ability and manifested a strong interest in the welfare of our Society.

Financial Condition

State Appropriations

Expenditures for the Society, emanating from State appropriations thereto, are, upon certification by the superintendent, audited by the secretary of state; as with other State departments, remittances to claimants are made by the State treasurer.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, covering the period of the present financial report, the Society received $31,000 from the State in direct standing appropriations—$25,000 for administrative and miscellaneous expenses, under subsection 2 of section 376 of the statutes, as amended by chapter 422 of the laws of 1909; and $6,000 under subsection 3 thereof, for books, maps, manuscripts, etc.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1911:

SUBSECTION 2

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1911

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1910	$2,047 02
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1911	25,000 00
Remittance from University of Wisconsin, on account of joint maintenance of building	187 08
Total	$27,234 10

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1911

Administration of the Society

Services	$16,176 41	
Supplies	99 75	
Equipment	238 44	
Freight and drayage	142 97	
Travel	27 38	
		$16,684 95

Maintenance of Building

Services	$6,577 31	
Supplies	1,030 15	
Equipment	306 45	
Repairs	158 50	
		$8,072 41
		$24,757 36
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1911		2,476 74
		$27,234 10

SUBSECTION 3

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1911

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1910	$97 98
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1911	6,000 00
Total	$6,097 98

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1911

Books and periodicals	$4,452 51	
Maps and manuscripts	1,220 65	
Pictures	76 86	
		$5,750 62
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1911		347 36
Total		$6,097 98

Details of the foregoing expenditures are presented in the fiscal report of the superintendent, submitted in connection herewith. A copy thereof has been filed with the governor, in accordance with the provisions of law.

The Legislature of 1911 added a total of $5,000 to the Society's annual stipend from the State: By chapter 634 our administrative fund (subsection 2, above) was placed at $27,000 per year, an increase of $2,000; our book fund (subsection 3) was made $7,000 per year, an increase of $1,000; and a new grant was made (subsection 5) of $2,000 per year for the conduct of the Museum. The Legislature's appreciative liberality toward this institution is most cordially acknowledged.

These added means enable us not only to increase the modest salaries of several of our assistants to figures more closely approaching the value of their services and the present cost of living than have hitherto been possible for us to pay, but also in some measure to meet the growing necessities of administrative expansion. The increase in our book-purchasing fund, however, means little, for higher prices prevail in this market than ever before, so that the $7,000 means but a trifle more than the $5,000 of a few years ago. It is a genuine pleasure to feel that the Museum has at last gained legislative recognition; this department of our work has heretofore largely depended on private generosity.

Private Funds

The general and binding fund is the product of special gifts thereto, of one-half of the receipts from membership dues and the sale of ordinary duplicates, and of interest earned by the prin-

cipal. On July 1, 1911, as seen from the treasurer's report, it contained $33,162.28, a gain of $1,010.69 during the twelve months. The income of this fund is at present chiefly used for eking out the State appropriation in the payment of staff salaries and general expenses.

The antiquarian fund is, like the preceding, derived from accrued interest on the principal and from the appropriation thereto of one-half the receipts from membership fees and sale of ordinary duplicates. On July 1, 1911, this had grown to $13,857.48, a net gain of $1,306.16 during the year. The income of this fund is now used in the conduct of the Museum and field work in history, interests which have received much benefit therefrom.

The Draper fund relies for growth upon interest receipts and sale of publications emanating from the Draper manuscript collection. On July 1, 1911, it contained $11,416.20, a net gain within the year of $117.32. The income is appropriately being used in calendaring and caring for the Draper manuscripts.

The Mary M. Adams art fund contained July 1, 1911, $5,098.25, a gain of $233.54 within the year. This fund, which now has reached the size hoped for by Mrs. Adams, is bringing to the Museum many interesting objects of art. We need several funds of this size and character, in order that the art interests of the department may have a proper growth.

The Anna R. Sheldon art fund, for the purchase of books for the Anna R. Sheldon memorial art collection, contained on July 1, 1911, $1,685.35. Contributions to the income of this fund are occasionally received from the Memorial Committee, and some valuable accessions to our collection of art books have been made from the fund during the past year.

The special book fund of $1,000 was presented to the Society in April, 1910, by a Life Member who does not desire to have his name published in this connection. It has been devoted to the interests of the department of manuscripts, and on July 1, 1911, still contained $885. During the fiscal year of 1911–12, this fund will be largely drawn on for important work and accessions in this branch of our library.

The several private funds of the Society now aggregate $66,112.81, a gain during the year of $2,632.57. Our increasing needs are far in excess of this growth.

Executive Committee's Report

The Library

Statistics of Accession

Following is a summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1911:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	2,435	
Books by gift	2,528	
Total books		4,963
Pamphlets by gift	4,427	
Pamphlets on exchange and by purchase	49	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	200	
Total pamphlets		4,676
Total accessions of titles		9,639
Present (estimated) strength of Library:		
Books		168,824
Pamphlets		172,382
Total number of titles		341,206

Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:

	1910	1911
Total accessions	11,420	9,639
Percentage of gifts in accessions	83	72
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	17	28
Books given	3,726	4,204
Pamphlets given	9,017	6,366
Total gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	12,742	10,570
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	25	34
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	75	66

The Order Department

Partly through lack of funds for the employment of additional assistants, we have hitherto been unable properly to organize our Library methods of ordering, acknowledging, and accessioning. The work both of book selection and book ordering has been done in the office of the superintendent; acknowledgements of gifts and most of the accessioning have been among the tasks of the catalogue department; while a large share of the burden of solicitation of gifts has been borne by the public documents department. An order department will be established about New Year's and thereafter the ordering, soliciting, acknowledging, and ac-

cessioning of books will be its special charge; this department will also purchase and distribute Library and building supplies. Book selection will remain one of the duties of the administrative office. In a number of ways this rearrangement will tend to greater business and professional efficiency.

The Catalogue Department

has been occupied during the year with the usual routine of classifying and cataloguing the current accessions. Among the important additions that have been catalogued and shelved are the library of the late Byron Andrews of Washington, D. C.; a large number of volumes from the library of the Hon. John C. Spooner of New York, and some valuable additions to our newspaper collections, noted *post*. We have also to report an important contribution to our archæological collection—Maudslay's *Biologia Centrali Americana*.

The Library has within twelve months been able to fill large gaps in its sets of English historical publications, such as those of the Spalding Club and Irish Archæological Society, and the *Surrey Archæological Collections*. All of these have been carefully analyzed.

Owing to several long absences on the part of members of the cataloguing staff, chiefly owing to illness, not much progress has been made in cataloguing the document department, which greatly needs a complete author and subject catalogue. By increased efforts we hope, however, to make considerable progress in this direction during the coming year.

The large and valuable collection of music bequeathed to us in 1901 by the late Prof. James Sargent Smith of the University of Wisconsin has heretofore been only shelf-listed; but owing to an increased demand for use of these compositions, we shall this coming year have them properly bound and catalogued. A duplicate copy of this catalogue will be placed in the library of the State University school of music.

The Maps and Manuscripts Department

reports a gratifying increase in the number of users. Much time has been spent during the year in cataloguing maps and loose manuscripts; also items in the miscellaneous and fast-growing collection of photographs, engravings, etc., which we group under the general title "illustrative material." All of the single

manuscripts that formerly were stored in drawers and bundles in the vault have been arranged according to the vertical letter-file system; they now are much more easily referred to than hitherto. Fifty volumes of the Kemper Papers have been bound within the twelve months; and twelve volumes of the Draper manuscripts have been remounted and bound by the Emery process. We shall continue to select each year from a half-dozen to a dozen of such volumes in the Draper collection as are in bad condition and cause them to be restored by this or some similar method. The process is undoubtedly expensive, but we know of no other by which valuable manuscripts in the stage of disintegration can be so thoroughly and permanently restored. It is well worth this effort gradually to bring our splendid collection to so desirable a stage of perfection.

The necessary task of calendaring the manuscripts is likely to remain with us for many years to come. This method of descriptive indexing is slow and costly, for it requires the services of careful and expert assistants; but it is the only practical guide to the full contents of the collection. Until our calendaring is much further advanced than at present, the Society's greatest treasures must remain but imperfectly known. During the year the following volumes have been calendared: Wisconsin Mss., vols. 11–15; Boone Mss., vols. 1–7; Brady Mss., vols. 1–7; Preston Mss., vols. 1–3.

In connection with this department we note with regret the death on September 25 of Miss Emma Helen Blair, who for some two years (1901–03) was the chief thereof. During her nineteen years of residence at the capital, Miss Blair was frequently in our employ in various branches of library work. She was a woman of unusual ability, being a widely-acknowledged authority in some phases of American history, and an accomplished linguist and editor. She did much important literary work both during and after her service with us. While upon the Society's staff she compiled most of the historical data in our *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files* and contributed to the annotation for vol. xvi of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Independently, her principal undertaking was her collaboration with Dr. James A. Robertson, now of the Philippine General Library at Manila, in editing the important 55-volume documentary series entitled *The Philippine Islands*; her latest publication was a translation, with

notes, of Nicolas Perrot's *Memoires*. Miss Blair's forceful personality and many charming qualities of heart and head left an impression on the Society's staff and activities that will long continue to be felt.

The Public Documents Department

has, so far as is practicable, been brought to conform in arrangement with the other floors of the book-stack. The work of classifying and labeling has been completed. The material within each class has been changed from an alphabetical to a geographical arrangement, thus bringing the documents of related states into juxtaposition. The classes themselves have been shifted until, with one or two exceptions, they follow each other in logical sequence according to our general scheme of classification.

The congestion on stack-floor A has reached such a stage that classes infrequently used have been shelved on floor B. Space was also given on B to the current British blue books; these have now been so arranged that little time is wasted in finding recent parliamentary papers. The bound blue books and the parliamentary debates are still housed in the basement, in a room which is not in direct communication with the document stack, and it has every possible physical disadvantage as a workroom. The late popular concern over reciprocal trade with Canada has brought the Canadian documents into sudden prominence and they also are located at a distance from the main document room, an awkward condition necessitated by lack of space.

With the English and Canadian documents thus scattered and in daily demand, and with no hope of concentration before the new northwest wing is completed, an additional assistant was never more thoroughly needed in the document department than at the present time. In assisting patrons of the Library in the use of this material, it often happens that the regular attendant in the document room is absent for a half hour at a time, a circumstance most annoying to people who are waiting for attention and who do not know the cause of the apparent neglect. Like the English and Canadian, the miscellaneous foreign documents are also not readily accessible; this fact, together with their unclassified and uncatalogued state, renders them practically useless to the average student.

Another crying need of the department is a subject catalogue.

An author catalogue serves people who know documents; but the usual patron of the department seeks his material under the subject, and cares little whether the output is of federal, state, or local origin. When the catalogue of the documents is finally brought to the perfected stage of the general catalogue in the main reading-room, the work with students will be greatly lightened.

One of the events of the year has been the breaking up of the familiar United States "sheep set." Regular reports of the federal departments to the last Congress have been placed in their proper classes; it is to be hoped that eventually nothing will remain in the long set but the Senate and House Miscellaneous Documents, which cannot very well be divided into classes.

With the aid of a stenographer for a short period, the work of collecting new material has gone forward. The regular reports of the states and minor political divisions have as nearly as possible been brought to date, and special publications will be taken up later. This important branch of the work will be greatly facilitated after the installation of the proposed new order department.

The Newspaper Department

has had somewhat more than normal growth. Of the accessions of the year, the following are worthy of special note:

Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier*, 15 vols., 1885–92.
Cincinnati *Volksfreund*, 144 vols., 1863–1908.
London (Eng.) *Punch*, 51 vols., 1864–66, 1885–1905, completing the file.
London *Times* (daily), 39 vols., 1837–44, 1901–11.
Milwaukee *Freidenker*, 8 vols., 1899–1909.
New York *Wall Street Daily News*, 46 vols., 1879–1907.

The Library now regularly receives 548 periodicals, 294 Wisconsin newspapers, and 151 newspapers from without the State—a total of 993.

There were bound within the year 641 volumes, of which 53 were journals of labor and socialism, and 40 trade journals. A new annotated catalogue of our files is ready for the press.

The question of future storage room is as serious in this department as it is in that of public documents. Both collections are of supreme importance in a library of this character, and are in daily use by many persons specializing in history, economics, and sociology. But these bulky departments grow with almost mushroom rapidity. The entire basement will soon be filled with newspaper files; and the documents collection is overflowing in

every direction, to the despair of the administration. Within a few years a separate and easily-expansible building for their sole housing will have become a vital necessity.

The Museum

Development

This department is being steadily developed and improved. Special collections illustrating the history of education, religion, railroading, and politics in Wisconsin are now in place in south hall. These and a newly-installed collection illustrative of Norwegian settlement in the State are proving instructive to visitors. Efforts will be made to encourage the German, Swiss, and other large groups of foreign-born settlers to contribute to the formation of similar collections. The American pioneer history collection has been strengthened by the addition of numerous specimens consisting chiefly of domestic utensils, clothing, and furniture. Interest in the State's agricultural history is being stimulated by the acquisition of various obsolete styles of farm implements; already these are sufficiently numerous to require a special case. A quite extensive correspondence is being conducted with lake vesselmen and others with a view to illustrating Wisconsin's marine history.

Accessions

The total number of specimens added to the Museum during the past year was about 3,800, which is nearly double last year's accessions. Among the most noteworthy of this year's additions are a number of personal mementos of Gen. John C. Starkweather, a Wisconsin soldier of the War of Secession; these were placed in the Museum's care by Mrs. Starkweather and her daughter, Mrs. H. V. Würdemann. A collection of over a thousand American and foreign gold, silver, and copper coins, formerly the property of Gen. Simeon Mills of Madison, was presented by his daughter, Miss Genevieve Mills. A collection of mementos of the political and other activities of the late Postmaster-General Henry C. Payne was presented by his widow. A fine collection of old-fashioned surgical implements was presented by Dr. Solon Marks, for thirty-six years a Milwaukee physician. There also came to our care a number of interesting reminders of the service rendered to humanity by the late Surgeon-General Nicholas Senn, presented by his sons, Drs. E. J. and William N. Senn. Several mementos of

Collection of Norwegian articles, in Museum

Father Joseph Damien, the famous priest of the Hawaiian leper colony, are the gift to the Museum of that missionary's successor, Brother Joseph Dutton. Our archæological possessions have been enriched by the collections of Mr. John H. Glaser of Appleton and Mr. W. H. Prisk of Montello. Mr. John F. Appleby of Chicago, Miss Veda B. Larson of Deerfield, Messrs. Charles F. Lamb and N. G. Lamson of Madison, Mr. J. P. Albee of Janesville, Mr. E. A. Meyers of Evansville, Mr. C. V. Fuller of Grand Ledge, and Hon. William P. Lyon of San Jose, Cal., have also made valuable contributions.

Special Exhibits

During the year special bibliographical and historical exhibits were made in commemoration of the centennary of Increase Allen Lapham, Wisconsin's pioneer scientist, and of the tercentennary of the King James Bible. The latter exhibit consisted of a large number of historical Bibles and those brought into the West by pioneer settlers; they came not only from the stores of the Society's Library, but from several outside sources. An exhibit of military, pioneer, and early Indian powder-horns attracted much interest. Included therein were horns, many of them elaborately engraved, that had seen service in the Indian wars in Ohio, in the Revolution, in the War of 1812, in the Black Hawk War, and in other struggles. Daniel Boone's powder-horn was perhaps the most popular. Equally interesting was an exhibit illustrating the progress of the Zionist colonies in Palestine, made possible through the kind coöperation of Prof. Joseph Jastrow, Prof. F. T. Kelly, and others.

Educational Activities

The Museum has continued to offer its services to teachers who desire to bring their classes hither for instruction in subjects connected with school work. Among those who came for this purpose were classes from high schools at Stoughton, McFarland, Watertown, Richland Center, and South Milwaukee, and classes from graded schools in Madison and several neighboring towns. The classes of the domestic science courses in the University of Wisconsin made frequent visits to the Museum with their instructors, to inform themselves on the subjects of pioneer cooking utensils and textiles, and Indian basketry, earthenware, and bead and quill-work. Other visitors who were given special attention

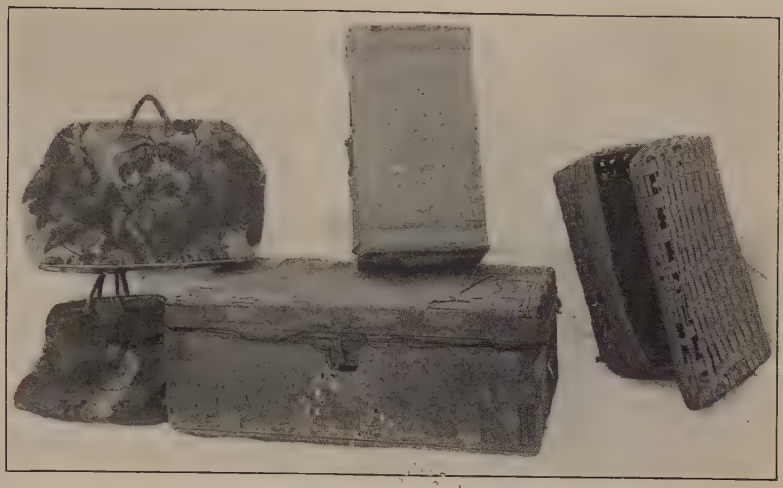
were several women's patriotic societies, the instructors and pupils of the summer recreation school, Sunday school classes, and boy scout patrols. The young men of the State University corn-contest course spent several hours among the collections. The students of the University summer session particularly found the Museum of assistance. Madison is an important centre for conventions of civic and religious associations; a constant stream of delegates thereto visited our exhibition halls during the spring and summer months of 1911.

The chief of this department has given talks at several of the Madison city schools; he has also responded to requests from other cities of the State for lectures on museum and archæological subjects. Expert advice and assistance have recently been given to museums now being established at Waupun and Kewaunee. Several short trips in search of museum materials were made, during which a number of pioneer settlers and other persons were "interviewed" or encouraged to prepare their personal narratives for the Society's files.

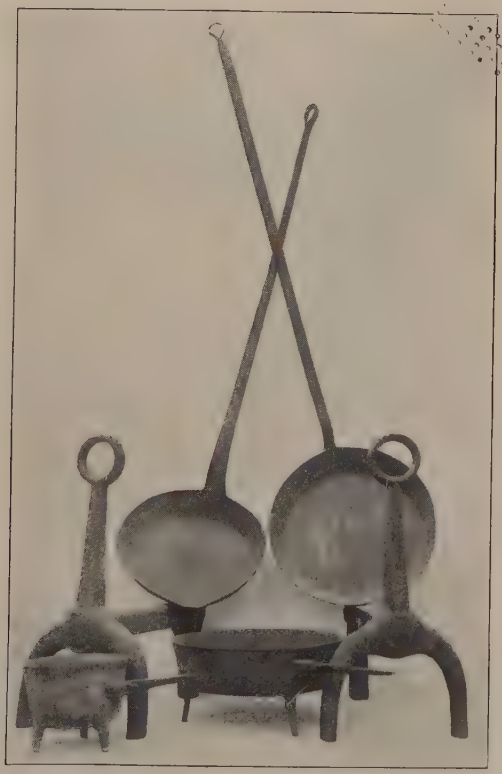
Madison's elaborate "sane Fourth" celebration, with its historical pageant and tableaux, did much to acquaint the people of the capital with the Museum's resources and usefulness in connection with floats, costumes, and other equipment. During the month of June a considerable portion of the time of the departmental chief was occupied in advising and aiding persons seeking information and assistance, in attending ward and executive committee meetings, and in superintending the production of a series of historical tableaux. To the success of this celebration the Museum contributed largely.

Archæology

Every effort is being made by the department to encourage the preservation of the remarkable Indian earthworks about the local lakes. At its suggestion hundreds of persons have been induced to visit the animal-shaped mounds upon the grounds of the State University and the State Hospital. In coöperation with the Wisconsin Archæological Society, surveys have been made of several interesting but hitherto unrecorded groups of earthworks on the banks of Lake Mendota and the Yahara River. Your committee is much pleased to note that the Legislature of 1911 passed two bills greatly interesting students of Wisconsin history and archæology—one for the better protection of Indian earthworks and



Old Trunks, Hampers, and Carpet-Bags, in Museum



Old Andirons and Cooking Utensils, in Museum

other remains found on the property of the State, and another prohibiting the forgery of archæological objects.

At this year's session of the Legislature, also, an annual appropriation of $2000 was granted specifically for the better conduct and equipment of our Museum department. With the assistance of this fund much greater progress will now be possible. Additional exhibition space and larger and better office, laboratory, and storage accommodations have long been needed; these will, some eighteen months hence, be provided in the northwest wing which is now in course of construction. A considerable amount of valuable museum material is being held in reserve by this department until the completion of the wing.

Publications

Bulletins of Information

Four bulletins have been published within the year: No. 55, "Museum Accessions," issued in January, 1911; No. 56, "Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Library," issued in January, 1911; No. 57, Reports of Auxiliaries, for 1910," issued in January, 1911; No. 58, "List of Active Members of the Society," issued in June, 1911. Nos. 55–57 were separates from the *Proceedings* for 1909.

Wisconsin Historical Collections

Volume xix of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, one of the most important and interesting of the series, was distributed to Members in November, 1910. It includes the Mackinac Register of Baptisms and Interments (1695–1821), together with documents illustrative of the fur-trade on the Upper Great Lakes and in Wisconsin from 1778 to 1815.

Volume xx is now in course of preparation. This will continue the important subject of the fur-trade in this region; but it is as yet too early to announce with definiteness the chronological scope. It is hoped that the volume may be ready for distribution to Members previous to our next annual meeting.

A general index to vols. i–xx of the *Collections* has been in course of preparation for about two years past. It is a task of much magnitude, involving absolutely fresh indexing of vols. i–x and an amalgamation therewith of the printed indexes to vols. xi–xix and the ultimate index to vol. xx. The published general in-

dex to vols. i–x, which is contained in vol. x, is crude and unsatisfactory; the standard followed in subsequent volumes has been on a more modern plane. The new consolidated index will, it is hoped, be more nearly representative of present-day methods and ideals. Whether to combine this new index with vol. xx or to publish it as vol. xxi, will depend largely on its size—probably the latter course will be found necessary.

Draper Series

A third volume in this series is practically ready for the press. Its title will be *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–78;* it will continue the documentary history given in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–77*, which was distributed in February, 1908. The expense of printing these volumes is being undertaken by the Wisconsin Society, Sons of the American Revolution; the task of editing is our own.

Many of the incidents of the Revolutionary War west of the Alleghany Mountains are still involved in uncertainty. This is owing to the fact that so little documentary material has been published concerning them. The chief repository of manuscripts relating to this period and region is the Draper collection, one of the Society's chief assets; the volumes of the Draper series are devoted to the publication of material therein, bearing on this subject. The two already issued have been greeted with interest both by Western and Revolutionary historians; the third will be equally worthy of their attention.

Annotated Newspaper Catalogue

The Society's *Annotated Newspaper Catalogue*, published in 1898, was in many respects a pioneer in its field. It attracted marked attention from American librarians and historians, and is still largely used by those two classes. But the old edition has become exhausted, and our collection of bound files has in the in terim been greatly strengthened in range and quality. The time is fitting for a new edition. During the past year almost the en tire time of one of the members of the editorial staff has been employed in preparing copy for such an edition. It has been a work involving the writing of thousands of letters of inquiry to editors and publishers, the searching of many hundreds of volumes of general and local history, and the careful examination of the files themselves; this, in order to bring down to date accurate historical

information concerning our collection. When issued, as we trust that it may be during the coming winter or succeeding spring, the volume will prove to be a storehouse of historical information about not only the press of Wisconsin but the leading journals of North America aud hundreds of important European files.

There will also be revealed in this volume the great size and wide range of our collection, which now is surpassed in extent only by that of the Library of Congress; indeed, the Washington collection is in some important particulars (notably the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and the region of the Middle West) exceeded by our own.

Wisconsin History Commission

Our Members also receive the publications of the Wisconsin History Commission, which is organized for collecting and publishing material relative to Wisconsin's part in the War between the States. During the past year the Commission has issued Fitch's *Chattanooga Campaign*, Hurn's *Wisconsin Women in the War*, and Bradley's *Bibliography of Wisconsin in the War*. There is in preparation a series containing the war messages and proclamations of Wisconsin governors (1860–65), with annotations; together with a volume of miscellaneous material. One of the members of the Society's editorial staff has recently been placed at the service of the Commission, the latter reimbursing us to the amount of his salary.

Administrative Details

Professional Meetings, etc.

It has always been the Society's policy to encourage the superintendent in accepting such invitations to address public meetings in this and other states, upon topics associated with our work, as do not interfere with his administrative and editorial duties. This, in that spirit of helpfulness which should always govern the procedure of the institution. In November, 1910, he spoke to the Trempealeau Historical Society, at Whitehall, on "The mission of local history." Between Christmas and New Year's he represented the Society at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Indianapolis. While in that city he addressed the Indiana chap-

ter of the Society of Colonial Wars, on "Lord Dunmore's War." During a part of January, 1911, he gave expert testimony before the United States district court in Chicago, in the suit of the United States vs. the Economy Light and Power Co.—an issue involving the question as to the extent of the navigability of the Chicago–Des Plaines rivers' fur-trade route in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the request of the Legislature he addressed a public hearing on a bill to appropriate $50,000 for the participation of Wisconsin in the forthcoming centennial of the Battle of Lake Erie. In May he took part in the meetings at Evanston and Chicago, of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the North Central States History Teachers' Association —the two organizations being amalgamated on that occasion. On June 21 he delivered the address at the unveiling of the bronze statue of Chief Oshkosh, a gift to the city of that name by one of its leading citizens, Col. John Hicks. In September he visited libraries and museums in New England and in and around New York City, with a view to ascertaining whether certain new mechanical devices (book-stacks and museum cases chiefly) might not with profit be introduced into our new northwest wing.

Search for Wisconsin Manuscripts in Canada

A year ago we reported the results of searches made for us in the archives of the federal government at Washington and in the Burton library at Detroit, for original material bearing on Wisconsin history. Some of the documents then obtained were published in volume xix of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Other documents of like origin will appear in volume xx and subsequent issues. During September, 1911, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg of our editorial staff was despatched on a similar quest to the archives at Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec. She was instructed to have particularly in view material relating to the fur-trade in Wisconsin and the country of the Upper Great Lakes generally, during the British and early American regimes, to 1836. Her report thereon follows:

Toronto

The first point of call in Canada was at Toronto, where it was hoped that some material relating to Indian affairs in the Northwest might be found in the Provincial Archives. This collection, together with the Provincial Parliamentary Library, suffered the loss of their quarters by fire about two years ago. The new wing of the Parliament Building, where these

two collections will have ample and satisfactory housing, is still in process of building. Access to the papers was therefore much obstructed. From the manuscript lists submitted, I concluded that the Ontario archives contained little material that could possibly relate to the Upper Lake region.

Montreal

Montreal was the next city visited. There several depositories were investigated and some interesting material found. The late Judge Baby of that city, an indefatigable collector, bequeathed his entire collection to the library of the Montreal branch of Laval University. But little progress, however, has yet been made in arranging and classifying this great mass of highly-interesting material, comprising over sixty folio volumes, largely relating to the period of the French regime. The papers are still arranged under the names of the families from whom they were inherited or purchased; e. g., the papers of *La Famille D'Ailleboust*, *La Famille Guy*, etc. When the authorities of the university or an agent from the Archives Branch shall have arranged and indexed this collection, much light will be thrown on the French regime in the Northwest. During the brief time it seemed best to give to this search I found the following interesting material which will be copied for our use:

An obligation dated 1627 of Antoine Grignon, progenitor of a well-known Green Bay family.

A land grant signed by Count Frontenac to Denis de la Ronde, formerly commandant at Chequamegon Bay.

An autograph letter of Henri Tonty, dated 1700.

An order from Lamothe Cadillac dated Fort Buade (Michilimackinac), July 1, 1696, for a detachment of Indians and Frenchmen to go to the support of Frontenac in the Iroquois war.

A journal of a visit in 1710 to the Upper Lake region.

A commission given in 1815 to a Winnebago Indian.

A passport for Sieur de la Pérade, signed in 1738 by the Marquis de Beauharnois.

A considerable collection of manuscript material on the North West Fur Company was secured by L. R. Masson, the editor of *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest*. After his death his manuscripts were sold and scattered. At the suggestion of Mr. O'Leary, the learned custodian of the Chateau de Ramezay, I called upon the Hon. Mr. Harwood, a son-in-law of Masson. He informed me that the manuscripts sold in New York had been repurchased and placed in two depositories—the library of McGill University, at Montreal, and the Dominion Archives at Ottawa.

I, therefore, while in Montreal visited McGill University and found material relating to the trading posts in northern Wisconsin supplied from the company's rendezvous at Grand Portage. In the Masson papers at Ottawa two unpublished journals similar in character to that of Victor Malhiot, published in our *Collections* vol. xix, were discovered, relating to posts on St. Croix River and in the neighborhood of the site of the modern town of Superior.

A third depository at Montreal that I visited, was the École Normale

Jacques Cartier, at one time domiciled in the Chateau de Ramezay, and under the management of former members of the now defunct Societé Historique de Montreal, some of whose papers they still retain. The most interesting of these for our purposes, was a memoir on Canada in 1759, prepared by a Russian visitor and found among the papers of the Dubrowsky family in St. Petersburg. This contains some interesting references to the Indians of the Northwest.

Abbé Dubois, the principal of the school, is also in possession of the original prayer-book carried by Father Jacques Marquette on his mission to the Illinois in 1674, and containing the autograph of Father Claude Allouez. This interesting relic has been reproduced in facsimile.

Several other collections were visited in Montreal without finding material for our purposes. A new institution known as the Bibliothèque Civique has just purchased the collection of books and manuscripts formerly belonging to Phileas Gagnon. The building is in process of construction, and the Gagnon collection still stored in inaccessible vaults. Although dealing largely with Lower Canada, there is probably to be found therein material for the Upper Lakes.

I also visited the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the oldest institution in Montreal, and still the seignior of a large part of the land on which the city is built. The father in charge would allow no person not a member of the Sulpician order to examine their manuscripts. Lists and copies are, however, being made for the Dominion Archives which will eventually make available this large body of material.

The Chateau de Ramezay contains a small collection of manuscripts, but the custodian assured me that they were purely local in character, and contained nothing of interest for our history.

Fraser Institute is the oldest library institution of the English-speaking population of Montreal; but while endowed with a valuable collection of books, it possesses no manuscripts.

Seven institutions were thus visited in Montreal, in three of which was found material on the history of the Northwest.

It may not be irrelevant to mention that en route from Montreal to Ottawa I spent Sunday in County Argenteuil, and was interested to learn that the descendants of Sir William Johnson, the noted New York Indian agent, who became Loyalists during the Revolution, are still the seigniors of a considerable part of the present county. In view of the deplorable destruction by fire of a large part of the Johnson papers in Albany, it might be well to inquire if any have been preserved in the possession of this family.

OTTAWA

The new Dominion Archives building at Ottawa was finished and occupied in 1907. It is beautifully situated on the bank of Ottawa River at the farther limit of Major Hill Park. The building of grey limestone appears to be absolutely fireproof. No wood is used in its construction, even the doors being covered with sheets of copper. The privileges accorded to accredited research workers are all that could be asked, and the courtesies of the staff to your representative are hereby acknowledged.

Executive Committee's Report

The Canadian Archives, whose inception and progress are due to the brilliant labors of the late Dr. Douglas Brymner, and his able successor Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, are known to all students of history on the American continent.

The first years of their growth were devoted to the task of discovering material for the history of Canada in France and England, and securing accurate transcripts thereof. Meanwhile many valuable original papers found their way into this depository. By the action of Parliament in 1903 the collection has become a national one, and contains the papers of the departments of the Canadian government previous to the year of the Confederation (1867). The process of arranging and classifying this large mass of material derived from the offices of the Dominion is proceeding rapidly; but it is not as yet all available for rapid research. Class A, however, as the collections made under Dr. Brymner have been termed, is not only arranged in perfect order, but the indexes and card catalogues made therefrom are of the utmost value to historical workers.

According to instructions I devoted myself largely to original papers existing in the Archives; therefore little time was given to series A, B, F, M, and Q, comprising respectively the Bouquet and Haldimand papers, the French correspondence, and the Colonial Office records from Paris and London. But series C and M contain a number of volumes of original papers, and the following were found of interest for Wisconsin students.

The Masson Papers are in M 414, 415, 417–419, 734–736. Their yield has already been discussed.

The Askin Papers, part of which are in the possession of Clarence W. Burton at Detroit, and were examined for us last year, have recently been purchased by the Archives Branch. Those in Detroit are richer in matter relating to Wisconsin, but a conciderable number of interesting letters and journals from among the portion at Ottawa were chosen for transcription—among them a curious little journal of 1774–75 kept by John Askin while gardener for the fort at Michilimackinac. While chiefly a treatise on climatology and botany, some interesting allusions to the fur-traders and their posts are embodied in this little book. Letters relating to Langlade's land-grant and the War of 1812–15 in the Upper Lakes, as well as several of Alexander Henry were ordered reproduced for our depository.

In 1879 Dr. Lyman C. Draper visited the home of the Claus family near Niagara and was permitted to examine the family papers, from which he made copious extracts for his projected life of Brant. Later this valuable collection was placed in the Dominion Archives, and is there found in Series M, volumes 104–115. Daniel Claus who married a daughter of Sir William Johnson, was himself British Indian agent during the Revolution, and as his son William held the same office during the War of 1812–15, these papers are of great interest to students of Western history. Claus was, moreover, administrator for the estates of Alexander McKee and Prideaux Selby, important officials of the Indian department in the West. This series of papers proved especially useful for our purpose, and their transcripts will be a valuable addition both

to the Brant Papers in the Draper Collection, and to the Wisconsin Manuscripts on the fur-trade and Indian relations during the British regime.

I noted among other interesting material the speech of a Fox Indian made in 1777 at Quebec; a letter of Calvé, trader and officer in the Indian militia; several letters of De Peyster, commandant at Mackinac; letters from later British commandants of that same fortress, when Wisconsin was a dependency of Mackinac; important documents concerning the Indian war of 1789–95, including a number of the papers of Gen. Richard Butler, no doubt captured at St. Clair's defeat where he was slain; minutes of a council held at Mackinac, June 11, 1794, with the "Folles Avoines of L'Abbé" (Menominee of Green Bay); letters relating to the services and later life of Charles Langlade and his son of the same name; diplomatic relations with the Spanish in 1797–99; speech of the Sauks to the British after the treaty of 1804 with the Americans; a letter of Jedidiah Morse, written after his visit in 1821 to the Western Indians.

Similar in character and supplementary to the Claus Papers are those of Class A, series C, volumes 247–258, original documents from the office of Indian Affairs, ranging in time from 1767–1816. Herein are many original letters from Joseph Brant, messages from the Menominee chieftains Caron and Tomah, accounts of war parties at Milwaukee and on the Mississippi; early shipping on the Great Lakes; two original letters of Charles Langlade; material on Robert Dickson, supplementary to that already in our possession; many documents on the administration of the posts and the Indian depots on Lakes Michigan and Huron.

Volumes 512–515 of the same series, denominated "Military Posts," contain similar material, but more related to routine of drill, specifications for fortifications, supplies, etc., of the forts in the Western country.

In connection with the fur-trade of the Northwest, Class A, series C, vol. 363 has some interesting material on the Lake Superior trade. The Archives Branch has also been recently presented with complete transcripts of the papers of Lord Selkirk, preserved at the family seat in England. These are very voluminous, and of great interest in connection with the founding of Selkirk's colonies, and his struggle with the North West Company. The immediate interest for Wisconsin history in this series of papers lies in the attempt to provision the Red River colony from Prairie du Chien; also in the participation of several Wisconsin fur-traders in this new venture. Such portions will be transcribed for our collection.

The recent acquisitions of the Archives from the administrative departments of the Dominion are valuable and interesting. For our purposes, those transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs are of the greatest interest. Among them are nine volumes of the original records of the Indian transactions at Albany, from the year 1722 to the Revolution. Extracts from these have been published in the New York *Colonial Documents;* but much matter in relation to Northwestern history has never been published. As it seemed quite impracticable to separate this material from the whole amount, and the transcription of the entire volumes would be an enterprise of great expense, we were reluctantly

obliged to defer the exploitation of these volumes, in the hope that the series may sooner or later be given to the public.

The other papers from the Bureau of Indian Affairs date from the formation of the province of Upper Canada (1791) and from these about forty documents were selected for transcription.

The reports of the Land Board were looked over, but nothing of immediate interest for our purposes was therein found.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Archives Branch that relate to the fur-trade, in addition to the Askin and Selkirk papers, are a number of letters from the letter book of John Richardson of the Montreal firm of Forsyth, Richardson & Co. Among these, some supplementary material was secured. The Archives is likewise in possession of a transcript of the journal of John Hay in a voyage to Mackinac in 1783. As Mrs. T. P. Foran of Ottawa, a granddaughter of the journalist, possesses the original document, I requested an opportunity to see it. This was courteously granted, but lack of time forbade availing myself of her permission. We hope, however, to secure from Mrs. Foran data in regard to the career of John Hay, a trader to the Upper Country during the Revolution.

After examining such original papers as seemed to give promise of material for the history of the Northwest during the British regime, a brief time was given to the French transcripts. Among other interesting papers were several dealing with the career of Duluth, and one detailing the history of the Chickasaw expedition in 1739-40, in which Wisconsin soldiers participated.

Among the transcriptions of the Carleton and Haldimand papers is much of interest relating to the Revolution in the West, that has not yet appeared in print.

The map and chart room was next visited. The most important find in this department related to the period of the French regime. This is a map of the territory now known as Wisconsin, drawn in 1730 by the well-known Quebec cartographer of that time, Chaussegros de Léry, from reports and sketches of French officers who had participated in the expeditions against the Foxes. On this chart are located the Indian villages and forts upon Lake Winnebago and Fox River. A photographic reproduction has been made for us and will be useful in solving many a vexed problem of Wisconsin archæology. Maps of the Foxes' fort in Illinois about the same time were also found; and one of Robert Rogers delineating the Great Lakes region in 1767.

During the ten days spent at the Archives at Ottawa, I estimate that I examined about fifty bound volumes and seventy-five packets of documents containing not less than 80,000 manuscripts, as well as looked over about fifty maps.

Before leaving Ottawa I visited the Parliamentary Library and the very courteous librarian, M. Sylvain, brought out for my benefit a series of the Simcoe Papers, transcripts made from those at the family seat in England. Among these are a number of interesting letters relative to the Northwest during Simcoe's term as governor of Upper Canada (1791-96).

Upon the homeward journey a visit was made to the Buffalo Historical

Society building. Their collections do not contain any unprinted manuscript material relating to our section of the country.

During the entire trip, four cities were visited, fourteen libraries and two depositories of archives were examined, some hundred thousand manuscripts were looked over, and about five hundred were chosen for transcription and addition to our Wisconsin collection.

The Northwest Wing provided for

For six years we persistently appealed to the Legislature for an appropriation with which to build the northwest book-stack wing. The congestion of the library had become acute. Nearly 75,000 of our volumes had been stored in the basement of the old University Library Hall (now the department of music), and we knew not whither to turn for space for the natural accessions of future years. After meeting with failure for two consecutive sessions, success was won in the recent session, and to our great satisfaction the bill for the new wing became chapter 547 of the laws of the present year. There was voted to us by this act an appropriation aggregating $162,000, but in three equal annual installments; and to the special building committee provided for in the measure was given the power, in order to expedite construction, to borrow money to be repaid from the appropriation.

This committee (a sub-committee of the executive committee)[1] was organized on July 12, 1911, and at once proceeded with its task. An arrangement was concluded with the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin by which the latter tendered the services gratis of its supervising architect, Mr Arthur Peabody—the committee agreeing to compensate the regents for the services of such draughtsmen and superintendents as Mr. Peabody might designate for carrying on the work. On October 2 the committee entered into contract with George R. Keachie of Madison to construct the foundation walls of the wing for $2,498—the same to be of reinforced-cement; the southwest wing was built of stone and brick. Plans for the superstructure are now being drawn,

[1]The building committee appointed by the executive committee consisted of Charles N. Brown, Matthew S. Dudgeon, Lucien S. Hanks, Frank W. Oakley, and R. G. Thwaites. Mr. Thwaites was selected by his colleagues as chairman; Assistant Superintendent Bradley was chosen secretary, and Walter M. Smith assistant secretary. Later, Major Oakley resigned as a member, owing to his proposed long absence from the country. A successor is to be appointed by the executive committee at this annual meeting.

and bids thereon will probably be asked for early in the coming year. While the exterior of the new wing will necessarily resemble the old, the interior will be on almost completely new lines. The basement will be of uniform level and quite differently partitioned; the book-stacks will be much closer together, thus considerably increasing the storage capacity, and involving an entirely new scheme of steel-framing; the staircase from one stack to another will be straight-away instead of angling; on the level of the general reading room will be cataloguing and bibliographical rooms for the use of the State University library—involving new methods of lighting and a radical rearrangement of steam radiators and risers; there will be necessary alterations in the location of heating vents, elevator, and plumbing, incident to these changes in the plans; the museum floor will present several new features, among which will be office, storage, and repair rooms for the chief of that department: and some new ideas will be introduced in the system of roof lighting. In the eleven years that have elapsed since the main building was opened for service, there have been marked improvements in method of construction and library appliances; so far as is practicable, these will be utilized in the new wing.

Your committee believes that its annual report of progress can have no more satisfactory conclusion than this announcement that work on the proposed enlargement is at last under way. Unless unforeseen delays occur, the Society should be in possession of the northwest wing by the opening of 1913.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

Reuben G. Thwaites,
Secretary and Superintendent.

Treasurer's Report

Inventory, July 1, 1911

Cash		$1,554 24
Mortgages		63,636 17
Real estate		580 54
Real estate		341 86
		$66,112 81

Distributed as follows:

General and Binding Fund	$33,162 28	
Antiquarian fund	13,857 48	
Draper fund	11,416 20	
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,098 25	
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,685 35	
Special Book Fund	885 00	
Entertainment Fund	8 25	
		$66,112 81

General and Binding Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Dues of Annual Members	$526 00	
½ Life Membership fees	90 00	
½ Sale of ordinary duplicates	115 33	
Gifts	20	
Interest apportioned	1,538 82	
		$2,270 35

Treasurer, Cr.

Travelling expenses of Secretary	$109 66	
C. E. Brown, salary as museum chief	1,000 00	
L. S. Hanks, salary as treasurer	150 00	
Transferred to Binding Fund	1,010 69	
		$2,270 35

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1910	Balance	$32,151 59	
	Transferred from income	1,010 69	
July 1, 1911	New balance		$33,162 28

Treasurer's Report

Antiquarian Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

	⅓ Dues of Annual Members	$526 00	
	⅓ Life Membership fees	90 00	
	⅓ Sale of ordinary duplicates	115 35	
	Gift	25 05	
	Interest apportioned	600 84	
			$1,357 24

Treasurer, Cr.

1910			
July 29	Dr. Louis Lotz, Milwaukee, model of Acoma	$6 00	
Nov. 29	T. R. Roddy, Winnebago, Nebr., museum specimens	10 00	
Dec. 28	C. E. Brown, museum chief, travelling expenses	1 94	
1911			
Feb. 3	F. M. Gilham, Highland Springs, Cal., museum specimens	1 50	
Feb. 15	E. R. Theby, Green Bay, museum specimens	20 00	
Apr. 6	C. E. Brown, museum specimens	1 64	
May 3	T. R. Roddy, museum specimens	10 00	
	Transferred to Antiquarian Fund	1,306 16	
			$1,357 24

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1910	Balance	$12,551 32	
	Transferred from income	1,306 16	
July 1, 1911	New balance		$13,857 48

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1910	Balance	$11,298 88	
	Sale of Draper duplicates	59 20	
	Interest apportioned	541 44	
			$11,899 52

Treasurer, Cr.

	L. P. Kellogg, services	$483 32	
July 1, 1911	New balance	11,416 20	
			$11,899 52

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1910	Balance	$4,864 71	
	Interest apportioned	233 54	
July 1, 1911	New balance		$5,098 25

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.				
July 1, 1910	Balance		$1,608 49	
	Interest apportioned . .		76 86	
July 1, 1911	New balance . . .		———	$1,685 35

Special Book Fund (for Manuscripts)

Treasurer, Dr.				
July 1, 1911	Balance		$1.000 00	
			———	$1,000 00
Treasurer, Cr.				
1910				
Dec. 28	Hall N. Jackson, Cincinnati, manuscripts		$100 00	
1911				
Apr. 6	G. W. F. Blanchfield, Hartford, Conn., manuscripts		5 00	
June 7	Hall N. Jackson, manuscripts . .		10 00	
	Balance		885 00	
			———	$1,000 00

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.				
July 1, 1910	Balance		$5 25	
	Curators' subscriptions . .		3 00	
July 1, 1911	New balance . . .		———	$8 25

Superintendent's Fiscal Report

To the Executive Committee, State Historical Society of Wisconsin—During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, the State directly appropriated to the Society $31,000—$25,000 under subsection 2 of section 376 of statutes, as amended by chapter 422 of the laws of 1909; and $6,000 under subsection 3 thereof. Disbursements were made upon warrant of the undersigned, audited by the secretary of state, and paid by the state treasurer. According to the books of the secretary of state, verified by our own, the Society's account with the State stood as follows on July 1, 1911:

Subsection 2

1910		
July 1	Unexpended balance in State Treasury	$2,047 02
	State appropriation	25,000 00
	Receipts from other sources	187 08
		$27,234 10
	Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1911, as below	24,757 36
1911		
July 1	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$2,476 74

Subsection 3

1910		
July 1	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$97 98
	State appropriation	6,000 00
		$6,097 98
	Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1911, as below	5,750 62
1911		
July 1	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$347 36

Orders drawn during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, in accordance with subsection 2 of section 376 of Wisconsin statutes as amended by chapter 422, laws of 1909:

Edna C. Adams, general assistant	$743 10
Alford Brothers, Madison, towel supply	96 00
Elizabeth Alsheimer, housemaid	420 00

Badger Oil & Specialty Co., Milwaukee, supplies	8 64
Bailey Furniture Co., Madison, chair	5 00
A. B. Beecroft, extra help	4 45
Daisy G. Beecroft, superintendent's clerk	841 54
L. J. Beecroft, newspaper department chief	710 00
Robert Berigan, assistant janitor	380 00
E. D. Billings, extra help	4 70
Mrs. Edith Bitney, extra cleaner	3 00
John Borhmt, masonry repairs	141 90
Jane Boudreau, extra help	9 00
I. S. Bradley, librarian and assistant superintendent	2,000 00
Bray & Schmitz, Madison, painting supplies	35 35
Barbara Brisbois, cloak-room attendant	231 80
Theresa Brunker, extra help	1 50
Burdick & Murray Co., Madison, cloth	4 00
Bennie Butts, office messenger	600 00
C. M. & St. Paul Ry. Co., freight	4 78
C. & N. W. Ry. Co., freight	88 11
City of Madison, water rent	37 60
Willie Clerkin, elevator attendant	240 50
Conklin & Sons, Madison, ice	37 30
Continental Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, dustaline	17 50
Cudahy Packing Co., Chicago, soap	24 00
Dennison Mfg. Co., S. Framingham, Mass., stationery supplies	1 55
LeGrande G. Dyke, extra help	2 80
Electrical Supply Co., Madison, equipment	76 89
Mrs. Anna W. Evans, document department chief	800 00
Roman Falter, cloak-room attendant	134 30
Ferris & Ferris, drayage	3 50
J. H. Findorff, Madison, lumber	17 35
Grace Foland, cataloguer	142 75
M. S. Foster, reading room chief	600 83
Marie N. Foulkes, student assistant	146 85
A. D. & J. V. Frederickson, Madison, lumber	86 45
Minney Frey, extra help	8 75
C. B. & A. K. Fritz, carpenter work	44 00
Granulator Soap Co., New York City, soap	18 00
Mrs. Bertha Green, extra help	33 00
Ada T. Griswold, editorial assistant	300 00
Phillip Gross Hardware Co., Milwaukee, supplies	28 20
Tillie Gunkel, housekeeper	534 52
Hamilton Mfg. Co., Two Rivers, museum cases	238 44
Mrs. F. Handel, extra help	10 00
Charles Harmon, extra help	18 00
Josephine Hartman, cloak-room attendant	100 50
Mrs. Carrie Haskins, extra help	29 00
Emma Isabel Hean, general assistant	511 82
W. M. Hepburn, LaFayette, Ind., book supports	6 00

J. I. Holcomb Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, brushes	20 25
Amy Hoyt, general assistant	9 30
Ill. Central Ry. Co., freight	16 28
Anna Jacobsen, cataloguer	606 25
Johnson Service Co., Milwaukee, steam-fitting supplies	26 23
Mary E. Jones, general assistant	136 50
Louise P. Kellogg, editorial assistant	499 99
Mrs. Kelly, extra help	29 00
Andrew Kinney, drayage	30 30
Bert M. Kohler, cloak room attendant	27 10
Russell Lamphere, cloak-room attendant	42 50
Nina O. Lane, general assistant	123 60
Kate Lewis, cataloguer	556 88
Library Bureau, Chicago, supplies	37 50
Isadore Link, extra help	17 00
Martin Lyons, janitor and general mechanic	630 00
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, equipment	9 45
Madison Gas & Electric Co., Madison, supplies	55 60
Madison Tent and Awning Co., awnings and repairs	37 50
Anna Mausbach, housemaid	420 00
Mautz Bros., Madison, painting	104 79
H. G. Miller, extra help	3 10
Ralph Morse, extra help	5 00
Mueller Co., Madison, steam-fitting supplies	50 40
Myron Nellis, cloak-room attendant	11 60
Gertrude Nelson, housemaid	414 64
Magnus Nelson, head janitor and general mechanic	985 50
Mildred S. Nelson, extra help	8 75
Irene Newman, extra help	8 75
New York Store, Madison, rugs and cleaners' supplies	78 40
H. Niedecken Co., Milwaukee, paper towels	12 25
A. A. Nunns, superintendent's secretary	537 50
Oppel's Fancy Grocery, Madison, cleaners' supplies	1 75
William Owens, Madison, plumbing	165 35
Eve Parkinson, newspaper department chief	120 00
Mary Phelan, extra help	27 75
Piper Brothers, cleaners' supplies	27 54
Roy H. Proctor, student assistant	277 05
Remington Typewriter Co., Milwaukee, typewriter	65 60
Margaret Reynolds, periodical department chief	589 50
Margaret Reynolds, travelling expenses	3 88
Clara A. Richards, general assistant	203 00
Riverside Mills, Augusta, Ga., cotton waste	5 13
Irving Robson, janitor and general mechanic	805 50
Mrs. Julia Rossman, extra help	1 50
Rundell-Spence Mfg. Co., Milwaukee, plumbing supplies	2 00
Mary Ryan, extra help	12 00
Safford Stamp Works, Chicago, rubber stamps	2 60

Mary Schmeltzer, housemaid	295 00
Louis E. Schreiber, extra help	3 50
B. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City, Iowa, travelling expenses	23 50
Shelby Electric Co., Shelby, O., lamps	72 00
Smith Premier Typewriter Co., Milwaukee, repairs and supplies	19 35
Standard Oil Co., Madison, oil	42 01
Mildred Stiles, general assistant	145 50
Sumner & Morris, Madison, hardware supplies	45 82
Adda I. Sutherland, general assistant	145 00
R. G. Thwaites, secretary and superintendent	3,500 00
R. G. Thwaites, official disbursement for supplies	1 20
Asa C. Tilton, document and Mss. department chief	285 00
A. Van Deusen & Son, Madison, chair	7 00
Winifred A. Van Vleck, general assistant	88 32
Mrs. P. H. Walsh, extra help	12 00
Nelia Warnecke, housemaid	80 00
Mabel C. Weaks, Mss. department chief	765 00
Iva A. Welsh, chief cataloguer	689 83
Theresa White, extra help	30 00
V. E. Williams, extra help	3 10
Wolff, Kubly & Hirsig, Madison, hardware supplies	6 75
Mrs. Addie Woodard, extra help	30 75
Yawkey-Crowley Lumber Co., Madison, lumber	12 65
Edna Zehnpfenig, extra help	8 75
	$7,343 76
	$24,757 36

Orders drawn during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, in accordance with subsection 3 of section 376 of Wisconsin statutes, as amended by chapter 422, laws of 1909:

William Abbatt, New York City, books	5 70
Adair's Book Store, Detroit, books	9 00
W. F. Adams, Springfield, Mass., books	3 72
Frank Allaben Genealogical Co., New York City, books	12 00
Orrin P. Allen, Palmer, Mass., books	5 00
Amer. Lib. Assoc. Publishing Board, Chicago, cards	12 33
Americus Book Co., Americus, Ga., books	21 61
American Hist. Assoc., New York City, publications	3 00
Robert Appleton Co., New York City, books	24 00
Army & Navy Journal, New York City, subscription	2 00
H. J. Banker, Greencastle, Ind., books	8 00
Edwin Batcheller, Wellesley, Mass., books	2 85
Bibliographical Society of America, Chicago, books	9 00
G. W. F. Blanchfield, Hartford, Conn., books	13 70

George N. Bliss, Providence, R. I., books	2 25
Boston Athenæum, Boston, books	2 00
John Britnell, Toronto, Can., pictures	15 10
W. B. Brown, Des Moines, Ia., books	3 50
L. W. Brown, Madison, photographs	10 00
John W. Cadby, Albany, N. Y., books	10 50
William J. Campbell, Philadelphia, books	4 00
Carswell Co., Toronto, Can., books	4 10
Seth C. Carey, Boston, Mass., books	4 00
C. N. Caspar Co., Milwaukee, books	6 45
Charities Publication Committee, New York City, books	2 50
City Club of Chicago, Chicago, books	2 00
A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, O., books	120 77
James Clarke & Co., New York City, books	17 10
John W. Congdon, Toronto, Can., books	23 00
John M. Currier, Newport, Vt., books	4 00
Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ill., books	7 50
Mrs. D. Dandridge, Shepherdstown, West Va., books	3 00
Beatrice M. Davis, Washington, D. C., Mss.	165 35
Dawson's Bookshop, Los Angeles, Cal., books	16 20
DeWitt & Snelling, Oakland, Cal., books	13 50
Dr. N. E. Dionne, Quebec, Can., books	8 15
W. S. Dudley, Madison, photographs	25 36
E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City, books	8 00
Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books	5 00
Emery Record Preserving Co., Taunton, Mass., repair and binding of Mss.	1012 75
Charles Evans, Chicago, books	15 00
Foster Brothers, Boston, pictures	26 40
T. J. Fitzpatrick, Lamoni, Ia., books	6 25
William H. Fuller, Palmer, Mass., books	5 00
Genealogical Association, Hasbrook Heights, N. J., books	10 00
Genealogical Association, New York City, books	5 00
Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, books	63 25
Goodspeed Historical Association, Chicago, books	10 00
Martin I. J. Griffin, Philadelphia, books	3 25
Hampton's Magazine, New York City, subscription	3 00
John Hart, Richmond, Va., books	34 25
F. P. Hartranft, Hartford, Conn., books	15 75
Haskell & Colcord, Coudersport, Pa., books	2 00
The Hispanic Society of America, New York City, books	7 50
Historical Commisson of S. C., Columbia, books	7 25
Frederick H. Hitchcock, New York City, books	9 50
C. S. Hook, Staunton, Va., books	121 00
Houghton Mifflin Co., books	22 20
A. B. Hulbert, Marietta, O., maps	150 00
George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y., books	4 50
Paul Hunter, Nashville, Tenn., books	2 50

H. R. Huntting Co., Springfield, Mass., books	4 50
Hall N. Jackson, Cincinnati, books	219 50
Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, books	2 00
Journal of Geography Co., Madison, magazines	21 73
Kaufman, Weimer & Fabry Co., Chicago, photograph	5 00
T. S. Kenderdine, Newton, Pa., books	3 50
Kenyon Printing Co., Des Moines, Ia., books	12 00
Kimball Bros., Albany, N. Y., books	24 75
Neil Morrow Ladd, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	2 00
Lebanon Co. Historical Soc., Heilman Dale, Pa., books	2 55
Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York City, books	46 01
Mrs. Leighton Lide, Darlington, S. C., books	11 00
J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, books	3 50
G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	178 13
Frederick Loesser & Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., books	2 00
W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C., books	4 50
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	361 79
Joseph McDonough Co., Albany, N. Y., books	5 00
George N. Mackenzie, Baltimore, books	15 00
McDevitt–Wilson Book Shop, New York City, books	4 00
Macmillan Co., New York City, books	9 90
Martin & Allardyce, Philadelphia, books	7 50
Frederick H. Meserve, New York City, books	35 00
Meyer News Service Co., Milwaukee, clippings	26 95
Orra E. Monette, Los Angeles, Cal., books	10 00
W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., magazine subscriptions	334 55
A. G. Morice, Duck Lake, Sask., Can., books	5 42
Noah F. Morrison, Elizabeth, N. J., books	116 54
O. F. Morton, Franklin, W. Va., books	2 75
Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books	2 70
National American Society, New York City, books	23 25
National Association of State Libraries, Hartford, Conn., dues	5 00
National Soldiers Home, Hampton, Va., books	2 00
Daniel H. Newhall, New York City, books	13 50
New York Book Mart, New York City, books	6 03
H. A. O'Leary, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	7 50
Augustus G. Parker, Buffalo, N. Y., book	5 00
D. L. Passavant, Zelienople, Pa., books	11 25
H. D. Perrine, New York City, books	10 00
Louis F. Pierce, Washington, D. C., Mss.	55 30
Pierce & Zahn Book Co., Denver, books	25 00
Post Exchange, Ft. Sam Houston, Texas, books	5 35
Prince Society, C. W. Cunningham, Boston, books	10 00
Fleming H. Revell Co., New York City, books	5 00
Emma T. B. Runk, Lambertville, N. J., book	6 00
C. C. Saffell, Baltimore, books	4 00
Salem Press Co., Salem, Mass., books	5 00
Theodore Schroeder, New York City, books	5 00

Theodore E. Schulte, New York City, books	61 50
John E. Scopes & Co., Albany, N. Y., books	50 00
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City, books	6 50
I. D. Seabrook, Charleston, S. C., books	44 75
W. C. Sharp, Seymour, Conn., books	2 00
Charles N. Sinnett, Carthage, S. Dak., books	4 00
Florence Skelton, Waldo, Mss.	26 00
Snow & Farnum, Providence, R. I., books	25 00
Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	350 44
Southern Book Exchange, Raleigh, N. C., books	22 00
State Library Commission, Madison, books	44 40
G. E. Stechert & Co., New York City, books	887 33
Leo F. Stock, Washington, D. C., Mss.	3 25
Henry C. Strippel, New York City, Mss.	4 00
Syms-York Co., Boise, Idaho, books	3 00
R. G. Thwaites, official disbursement for books	36 20
Tice & Lynch, New York City, for Martin Nijhoff, The Hague	13 74
Tice & Lynch, New York City, for B. F. Stevens & Brown, London, Eng.	5 15
Torch Press Book Shop, Cedar Rapids, Ia., books	124 32
C. W. Treat, Nashville, Tenn., books	87 00
John Tweedy, Danbury, Conn., books	2 00
C. Irvine Walker, Charlestown, S. C., books	50 00
Reuben F. Wells, Hatfield, Mass., books	5 00
J. B. White, Kansas City, books	9 00
James T. White & Co., New York City, books	8 00
H. Williams, New York City, books	5 00
H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis, books	15 00
Wis. Archæological Society, Milwaukee, publications	2 00
Theodore R. Yankee, Ashland, books	5 00
Yale University Press, New York City, books	13 50
	$5,750 62

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

Lafayette County

The past year has been one of continued growth. The officers are the same as last year. There have been added twenty-eight portraits of prominent citizens of the county, living and dead; thirty volumes to the library, including a *Testament* printed in 1740; another book printed in 1752; bound volumes of English reviews, printed during our War of Secession; and the first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. We have also received a clock used in one of our village schools sixty-one years ago; an ox-yoke and ox shoes; pistol carried by Col. Charles Bracken in the Black Hawk War; the flint-lock cavalry pistol and sword carried by a member of a troop in 1848, at Mineral Point; a shotgun made in 1832; andirons, tongs and fireplace crane and hook nearly a hundred years old; a grain cradle; a rifle-repair outfit of the War of Secession; a bowie-knife of 1850; a hoe used by slaves in the South; an ancient tooth-pulling outfit and lancet; a spinning wheel; an Indian pipestone pipe; a fragment of the Great Pyramid and a specimen of rock from the tombs of Egypt; a fine case of mounted native birds; a fine bronze Lincoln medal; an ancient powder-horn; a powder-horn from the Lundy's Lane fight; old candle moulds; rattlesnake tails; portfolio of Columbia Exposition views; map by early explorers; internal revenue license as a lawyer, dated September 1, 1862; internal revenue permit as cattle broker, 1866; of 1849, written and signed by Father Mazzuchelli; a collection of stamps; "wildcat" and Confederate money; shells, arrow heads, Indian relics, petrifactions, etc.

No meetings have been held during the year and very few members added, but we think we have made substantial progress.

P. H. CONLEY, *President.*

DARLINGTON, October 10, 1911.

Manitowoc County

During the past year our Society has maintained its usual quota of members, held its customary meetings, and succeeded in keeping its work before the public in much the same manner as during the previous years of its existence. At present its members are co-operating with a firm of Chicago historical publishers in an effort to produce a county history that shall be more than a mere advertising scheme, to which level so many similar works descend. While the business end of the project must of course be kept in mind, it is the aim of Judge Emil Baensch and Dr. Louis Falge, president and vice-president of the Society, to give the writing of the work a true historical character.

The past year witnessed two regular meetings of the Society. The first was held on February 13 and was addressed by Judge J. S. Anderson, his subject being "Manitowoc County in War Times." The paper was not a mere repetition of names and facts concerning the country's part in the great struggle, but was an effort to afford the hearer of today a true insight into the real life of the soldier and of those who remained at home. Many of the local G. A. R. members were present, and when in the conclusion of his address the judge unfolded the tattered flag presented to Manitowoc's first company in 1861 by the "loyal ladies of the village," there was not an auditor who did not appreciate the vividness of the portrayal.

The second talk was given by Dr. Falge on March 24 and dealt with "The Medical Profession of Manitowoc County." The doctor had thoroughly investigated his facts and the address was well received. It will, it is understood, be put in some permanent form by the local medical society. Thus it will be seen

that the historical society has succeeded each year in interesting other organizations in the study of our local past.

R. G. PLUMB, *Secretary.*

MANITOWOC, October 5, 1911.

Sauk County

During the past year the Society has held three meetings—an illustrated lecture, a literary evening, and a loan exhibit.

The lecture was by George B. Merrick of Madison, who told of "Old Times on the Upper Mississippi River." Mr. Merrick was a steamboat pilot on the great stream from 1854 to 1863, and talked from personal experiences. The lecture was one of the finest features ever enjoyed by the Society. At the next meeting three papers were given:

Our People of the Fifties, by Mrs. T. W. English.
Noble C. Kirk, by S. E. Bronson.
The First Church in Baraboo, by Mrs. Frank Avery.

At this meeting it was decided to have a loan exhibit and to use the proceeds as the nucleus of a fund to erect a memorial tablet on the site of the first church built in the Baraboo Valley. The slab building marked the beginning of religious effort in this region, and it is hoped soon to provide a tablet.

The loan exhibit included articles of historical interest owned by members of the Society and others in this community. A charge of ten cents was exacted from visitors, a slight additional charge being requested from those partaking of tea and wafers which were served by two ladies of the Society garbed in colonial costume. Among the articles shown which occasioned remark, were an exhibit of old laces and embroideries, old counterpanes, a colonial table set with pioneer china and pewter, old mahogany furniture, and small articles of utility made by hand. A quartette sang old-time songs during the evening, and several ladies and gentlemen appeared in costumes of early days. Considerable interest was manifested by the public in the exhibit and entertainment.

The papers read before the Society were printed in a local newspaper and mounted for preservation. The museum in the court-house continues to grow, and the annual exhibit at the county fair in the fall remains attractive. At the fair the association furnishes the money for the premiums, and the members look after the exhibit.

The annual meeting of the Society was held November 27. A paper entitled, "Making Maple Sugar on the Banks of Honey Creek Fifty Years Ago," was presented by John Rooney of Baraboo.

A hundred years ago, I. A. Lapham, the naturalist and author, was born. In 1849 he made a trip from Milwaukee to Kilbourn, Lyons, Baraboo, and Prairie du Sac. Portions of the field notes of this tour were read by Mrs. J. E. English. The notes with illustrations were given to the Society by his daughter, Miss Julia A. Lapham, who resides at Oconomowoc.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President—H. E. Cole, Baraboo.

Vice-presidents—E. D. Ochsner, Prairie du Sac; S. A Pelton, Baraboo.

Secretary—H. K. Page, Baraboo.

Treasurer—Mrs. Edward Alexander, Baraboo.

H. E. Cole, *President.*
H. K. Page, *Secretary.*

Baraboo, November 29, 1911.

Trempealeau County

The only meeting of importance in the year, was the annual held at the court-house in Whitehall on November 14.

President A. A. Arnold opened the exercises with a brief talk on the aims and purposes of the Society.

A valuable paper for the archives was furnished by S. Richmond, entitled "Roster of Trempealeau County Lawyers."

The most notable person at the meeting was G. Y. Freeman, who, at the age of 85 years, still found himself not only physically able to come nearly fifty miles in the face of a threatened storm, but also as willing and enthusiastic as a young man in his

efforts to promote the interests of the Society. He spoke briefly on "The Pioneer Lawyers of Trempealeau County," but at a later meeting will expand his address.

"Old Richardson," a soldier of 1812, was a very familiar character from forty to fifty years ago in the eastern part of our county, and was especially noted for the great number and variety of improbable stories he used to tell. He sent in a story to this meeting, entitled "How I Learned to Swim."

A memorial on the death of Collins Bishop, the first member of our Society to pass away, was presented by Frank Richmond.

Interesting music varied the programme, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: A. A. Arnold, president; M. J. Warner, James N. Hunter, and E. J. Matchett, vice-presidents; E. F. Hensel, F. C. Richmond, and J. A. Markham, advisory committee; Herman Hoberton, treasurer; H. A. Anderson, secretary.

H. A. ANDERSON, *Secretary.*

WHITEHALL, Nov. 15, 1911.

Waukesha County

Two meetings have been held during the year 1911, both of which were unusually successful in point of numbers present and interest manifested.

The annual meeting was held May 6 in the Baptist church at Waukesha. The acting officers were re-elected, with the exception of Mrs. Helen A. Whitney, chairman of the advisory committee, whose place was supplied by Mrs. Luella Parks Edwards of Eagle. Since the meeting also, H. B. Bidwell, first vice-president of the Society, has died. Six resident and two corresponding members were elected. After the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," a letter was read from James H. Elmore of Green Bay relating to the death at that city of James Ranous, a Mukwonago pioneer ferryman, who later acted as brakeman on the first train from Milwaukee to Waukesha, with S. S. Merrill as conductor. Later Mr. Ranous was conductor on the first train to Whitewater. Rolland L. Porter, writing from New Orleans in January, described the programme of a meeting of the local historical society of that city which he had attended.

Mr. T. W. Haight presented an account of the activities of the Cushings of Delafield during the War of Secession, and suggested that action be taken with reference to a monument at their natal place. By vote of the Society, the president appointed a committee of six to take the initiative in this matter.

Mrs. Laura Grover Carpenter, formerly a teacher in this county, presented her reminiscences in an interesting paper. The recollections of Vice-President H. B. Bidwell, under the title "Seventy-five Years a Resident of Waukesha," were read by J. H. A. Lacher. Mrs. S. B. Waller, a niece of Governor Barstow, entertained the company with some old-time songs. Miss Lillian Beheim, Mrs. Donaldson, and Lauren Barker added to the pleasure of the occasion with recitations and vocal solos.

The autumn meeting was held by invitation of the Open Door Club at the opera-house in Eagle, the afternoon of September 1, with a large attendance of members and guests. The committee on the preservation of cemeteries recommended co-operation with the State and other county historical societies, and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The committee on the Cushing monument reported that a State appropriation had been secured, and that Congress will be asked to aid. A private subscription is likewise begun. A letter was presented from John McDermaid, apparently the sole survivor of the crew of the "Albemarle" under Cushing, who now lives at Rockford, Illinois. Other letters were read from Nelson Hawks of California, formerly a resident of our county; from Mr. James H. Elmore, concerning old-time ferries and homes in our county; and from Charles E. Brown extending an invitation to the field meeting of the Wisconsin Archæological Society at Prairie du Chien, September 29-30.

Two new members were elected, after which Wilder M. Howard's paper, "Reminiscences of 1836," was read by Rolland L. Porter, some old-time songs were sung under the guidance of Mr. T. F. Rhoads, and the guests adjourned to the automobiles provided by our hosts at Eagle. A fifteen-mile ride to historic points, which had been marked by flags, was followed by a supper at the opera-house, and the guests departed with memories of a delightful meeting.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary.*

OCONOMOWOC, October 4, 1911.

Some Aspects of Politics in the Middle West, 1860-72

By Evarts Boutell Greene, Ph. D.

In a recent article in the *American Historical Review* on the name Republican, Prof. William A. Dunning of Columbia University has made an interesting contribution to the history of party politics in the United States. Referring to the contemporary party which bears that name, Mr. Dunning maintains that, whether judged by "principles," "personal," "name," or "all three combined," the continuity of the Republican party since 1854 is at least doubtful.[1] In maintaining this thesis it is pointed out that the Republican party was founded on a fusion of elements drawn from different political parties; that during the years of the Civil War it was merged into a still more comprehensive fusion, which deliberately abandoned the name Republican for that of Union party; that when the war was ended, there developed, during the reconstruction era, an entirely new alignment of parties, having very little relation, whether in personnel or principles, to the *ante bellum* alignment between Republicans and Democrats.

It is my purpose in this paper to examine the validity of this hypothesis as applied to the political situation in the Middle West during the years from 1860 to 1872. Since limitations of time and space prevent adequate treatment of the whole field, I have confined myself to the states of Illinois and Wisconsin which, taken together, offer conditions fairly typical of the Northwest as a whole—conditions varying from the border-state society of "Egypt" to the "Yankee" communities of northern

[1] *Amer. Hist. Review*, xvi, pp. 56 ff.

Illinois and Wisconsin. Even with these limitations I find myself forced to draw my illustrations more largely than I could wish from my own state (Illinois).

We may begin with the fundamental fact that the Republican party here, as elsewhere, was the product of a coalition which included Whigs, Democrats, and the radical "come-outers" of the old Liberty and Free-soil parties. The Whig contribution to the coalition has received a very natural emphasis, partly because the secession from the Whig party was on such a scale as to involve the complete destruction of that organization, partly also because of the unique position which one of the Whig leaders, Abraham Lincoln, came to hold in the Republican party. Besides Lincoln, the Whigs of central and southern Illinois contributed a number of notable figures to the early Republican party: Orville H. Browning, who opposed Stephen A. Douglas as a Whig candidate for Congress in the early forties, but became in 1856 a conspicuous figure in the first Republican state convention, and in 1861 the Republican successor of Douglas in the Senate of the United States; Richard Yates, a Whig congressman during the compromise debates of 1850, and subsequently the first war governor of Illinois; and David Davis, who was perhaps the most intimate of Lincoln's lieutenants in the political game of 1860. All of these men, with Lincoln himself, were born in the state of Henry Clay and shared in large measure the political traditions of which he was the most distinguished exponent. Less striking in personality perhaps, but more numerous, were the Yankee Whigs of northern Illinois and Wisconsin —such men as the Washburne brothers, one in Illinois and one in Wisconsin, and Bashford, the first Republican governor of Wisconsin.

Yet if we except Lincoln, the Democratic contribution to the leadership of the original Republican organization seems even more significant. In June, 1856, the Chicago *Democrat* (newspaper), referring to the first Republican state convention which had just then been held at Bloomington, asserted that the majority of the delegates to that convention and the majority of the nominees had voted for Franklin Pierce in 1852.[2] Easily first in this group was Lyman Trumbull, for nearly twenty

[2] Chicago *Democrat*, June 7, 1856.

years a Democratic politician of some repute before he began his more distinguished career as a leader of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats and the first Republican senator from Illinois. Of Democratic affiliations were also Long John Wentworth, for five terms Democratic representative of the Chicago district in the national House, but in 1856 an ardent member of the Bloomington Republican convention; John M. Palmer, the chairman of that convention; Gustav Koerner, the German-American, who having been elected lieutenant-governor on the Pierce ticket in 1852, led a great body of German voters in their secession from the Democratic to the Republican party, and in 1858 presided over the Republican convention which made Mr. Lincoln the senatorial nominee against Douglas. The Wisconsin Democrats contributed J. R. Doolittle and the two war governors, Randall and Salomon. Side by side with these seceders from the Whig and Democratic ranks, there were a few veterans who had followed the forlorn hope of the old Liberty party—such men as Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, and Owen Lovejoy, whose radical abolitionism was regarded with some misgiving by his associates of Whig and Democratic antecedents.[3]

In these differences of Whig and Democratic antecedents, the Republican leaders of the fifties found one of their most difficult problems, and their opponents one of the most promising lines of attack. The effort of Douglas to make political capital out of this situation is illustrated by a passage from his speech at Freeport in 1856:[4]

> Up to 1854 the Old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. * * * The compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the national men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. * * * In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the Whigs, undertook to Abolitionize the Whig party by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition

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[3] For verification of these and other personal data, I am indebted to Charles M. Thompson, assistant in history at the University of Illinois. The range of the material used is such that it is not practicable to indicate it fully in the footnotes to this paper.

[4] Lincoln, *Works* (ed. 1894), i, p. 322.

camp and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking old Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State— your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others with whom you are familiar.

An important element in the early Republican organization in both states was the German-American population, which in former years had been attracted to the Democratic party as the best means of protection against the supposed nationalistic tendencies of the Whigs. Attracted to the Republican party by its stand against the extension of slavery, the Germans showed at times a natural sensitiveness on all points affecting the rights of foreign-born citizens, and from time to time questions arose which tended to alienate them from some of their Republican associates of Whig or American antecedents.[5] The chief distinction between Wisconsin and Illinois is perhaps the difference in the sectional origin of the native American voters. In Wisconsin nearly all of the conspicuous leaders of the new party—governors, senators, representatives in Congress, were natives of New York or New England. The same thing was true of the northern Illinois districts; but in central and southern Illinois the Republican party drew some of its most aggressive leaders from the southern-born population, which included, besides Lincoln himself, two of the first three Republican senators from Illinois, and three of the first four Republican governors.

This phenomenon was characterized from a hostile point of view by Stephen A. Douglas in a speech delivered at Jonesboro in southern Illinois during the great debates of 1858:[6]

The worst Abolitionists I have ever known in Illinois have been men who have sold their slaves in Alabama and Kentucky, and have come here and turned Abolitionists while spending the money got for the negroes they sold, and I do not know that an Abolitionist from

[5] See an interesting paper by Herriott, in Ill. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, 1911.

[6] Lincoln, *Works*, i, p. 366.

Indiana or Kentucky ought to have any more credit because he was born and raised among slave-holders. I do not know that a native of Kentucky is more excusable because raised among slaves. His father and mother having owned slaves, he comes to Illinois, turns Abolitionist, and slanders the graves of his father and mother, and breathes curses upon the institutions under which he was born, and his father and mother bred.

All, or nearly all, of the men so far referred to may be characterized as original Republicans of the vintage of 1856. With all of their differences in inherited traditions and previous political affiliations, they were united in their opposition to the extension of slavery. During the period of Buchanan's administration, however, there was a considerable accession of new elements to the Republican party, partly, of course, as a result of immigration from abroad and from the Northeast, but partly also through the gradual conversion of moderate men who had not been prepared to take part in the political revolution of 1854–56. Among these there were, in Illinois and elsewhere, a considerable number of Whigs who had taken temporary refuge in the American party. Perhaps the most interesting member of this group today is the present senior senator from Illinois, Shelby M. Cullom, who was a candidate for presidential elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856. In 1858, however, he was prepared to take an active part in the campaign for Lincoln, and in 1861 was chosen Republican Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives.[7]

Some hint as to the attitude of the moderate Democrats may perhaps be gathered from the statement made by Grant in his *Memoirs*, defining his own position in the politics of the years between 1856 and 1860. In 1856, he tells us that he voted for Buchanan, because he felt sure that the election of a Republican president meant the immediate secession of the slave States, and he desired to postpone the shock involved in a Republican victory. At the time of the election of 1860 he was living in Galena, but had not been there long enough to have the right to vote. He declared, however, that if he ad voted he would have felt himself bound to vote for Douglas. He intimates that he felt a certain relief in escaping this responsibility, be-

[7] Illinois *State Journal, passim.*

cause, although feeling bound to vote for Douglas, he considered the real contest to lie between Lincoln and Breckenridge, and of these two men he preferred Lincoln.[8] It is not altogether easy, however, to tell how far this view of his own state of mind in 1860 was colored by his subsequent prominence in the Republican party. Another indication of the changes which were taking place is to be found in the transfer, in 1860, to the Republican party of a few central Illinois counties which had in 1856 gone for Fillmore.

With the increasing prosperity of the party there appeared also a sharp contrast between the views of radical and conservative members, a contrast which appears clearly in the Republican representation of these two States in Congress during the critical winter of 1860–61. The three Republican senators—Trumbull, Durkee, and Doolittle—all voted for the famous Clark Resolution declaring that "The provisions of the constitution are ample for the preservation of the union * * * it needs to be obeyed rather than amended," and the majority of the Republican representatives from Wisconsin and Illinois in the House displayed distinctly radical tendencies.[9] A very different note, however, was struck by Congressman William Kellogg who represented the Peoria district, and introduced a considerably debated resolution proposing the revival of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′. Kellogg held that the Republican party had its origin in the protest against the repeal of that compromise, the restoration of which would be in harmony with true Republican policy. Although some of his colleagues might "wander for a time in the dark paths of fanaticism," he was willing to rise above partisanship in order to save the Union. His three Republican colleagues in the House—Farnsworth, Lovejoy, and Washburne—were agreed in opposition to his compromise project; and, as is well known, he had also to meet the opposition of Lincoln.[10]

The story of the great uprising of Democrats and Republicans in support of the Union after the firing on Fort Sum-

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[8] U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (N. Y., 1885–86), i, pp. 214–217.

[9] 36th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. 2, p. 1404.

[10] *Ibid*, app. pp. 192–196. Cf. W. E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," in *Amer. Hist. Review*, xvi, pp. 774 ff.

ter, is too familiar to need rehearsal here. It is important to note, however, that the Illinois and Wisconsin representatives at Washington during the first half of Lincoln's administration were, so far as they were Republican at all, men of the original Republican group. All four senators from these States during the greater part of the Thirty-seventh Congress were Republicans. Lyman Trumbull began his second term in 1861; and the vacancy left by the death of Douglas was filled by Orville H. Browning, a close friend and adviser of Lincoln, and a Republican of somewhat conservative principles. Wisconsin was represented in the Senate by Doolittle, a man of vigorous personality and radical temper, who had served four years of his first term; and Timothy O. Howe, who was just beginning his first term. All of these men had been associated from the beginning with the Anti-Nebraska Republican movement. The situation in the House was less simple. The Wisconsin delegation was solidly Republican, but five of the nine Illinois congressmen were Democrats. Notwithstanding a considerable Republican constituency in central and even southern Illinois this section of the state was left wholly without Republican representation in the House. Taking the House and Senate together, the whole group of Wisconsin and Illinois Republicans in the Thirty-seventh Congress, with one or possibly two exceptions, were men of distinctly Yankee antecedents; ten out of twelve were natives of New York or New England. Measured by their real importance in the State organization, there was an obvious over-representation of the Yankee Republicans of northern Illinois.[11]

During the year 1862, there are clear evidences of dissatisfaction on the part of the Democrats with the disposition of the Republican leaders both state and national, to use their political power as a means of promoting distinctly Republican measures, especially on the subject of slavery. Under these circumstances there was a natural revival of party feeling, even on the part of Democrats who cannot fairly be called disloyal. Indications of such feeling appear in the Illinois constitutional convention of 1862, which was dominated by ele-

[11] Edward McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1865), p. 122.

ments hostile to the Republican administration in state and national affairs. The most striking evidence, however, is to be found in the elections of 1862, held immediately after the preliminary proclamation of emancipation, which resulted in heavy loss to the Republican party, both in Illinois and Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Republicans retained their control of the State administration, but the congressmen who had been unanimously Republican in the Thirty-seventh Congress, were evenly divided in the Thirty-eighth, between Republicans and Democrats. In Illinois the situation was much more serious from the Republican point of view. The new apportionment gave Illinois fourteen instead of nine representatives in the House; but of these fourteen representatives, only five were Republicans; all of the others were either Democrats, or voted regularly with the Democratic opposition. The area represented by Republican congressmen was, therefore, smaller than in any previous election since 1856; the southernmost county included in any Republican district was Peoria. On the other hand, the surviving Republican representatives were aggressive champions of anti-slavery principles. All of them, too, had been associated with the party from its foundation. In the Senate there was less change than in the House; Trumbull and Howe held over. Doolittle was reelected for a second term, but the new Illinois Legislature was Democratic and sent Douglas's old lieutenant, Richardson, to succeed Browning in the Senate. Obviously, so far as Illinois and Wisconsin were concerned, the administration party in Congress was still distinctively Republican rather than Union in temper.[12]

The disasters of 1862, however, impressed upon the more moderate leaders of the Republican party the absolute necessity of joining forces with the War Democrats in the broader Union movement. This attitude became very marked in the campaign of 1864, especially in Illinois, and was shown partly in a growing disposition to recognize and use men who had not heretofore been affiliated with the Republican party. The administration convention of 1864 in Illinois took the name of "Union," rather than Republican, and selected for its presiding officer

[12] *Ibid*, see tables *passim*.

Andrew Jackson Kuykendall, a Democrat from "Egypt," who had supported Douglas in the campaign of 1858.

More remarkable still was the appeal which Lincoln made to John A. Logan. Logan had been an extremely partisan Democrat from the early fifties. In 1853 he introduced into the State Legislature a drastic measure directed against the immigration of free negroes and was a consistent supporter of similar views.[13] In the congressional session of 1860–61, he made an impassioned speech in which he explained the break-up of the Union as due in large measure to the malign influence of anti-slavery fanaticism. The Abolitionists, he said, had been "poisoning the minds of Northern people against Southern institutions." Referring to Farnsworth, the radical Republican congressman from the Chicago district, he continued, "When I heard my colleague say in his speech that he would not deviate one jot or 'one tittle' from the platform upon which he was elected, I thought that the insanity of these times was enough to appal the civilized world." Logan then appealed to the moderate Republicans to make such concessions as would enable the loyal men of the South to combat secession, and proposed as an appropriate epitaph for those Republicans who refused: "The men who would not sacrifice party prejudice to save their country." On August 2, 1861, Logan voted with other Democrats in the House to lay on the table the Confiscation bill of 1861.[14] General Grant tells us that when his regiment was about to be mustered into the service of the United States, he was urged to give Logan and his Democratic colleague McClernand an opportunity to address the volunteers. Grant hesitated because of his uncertainty about Logan's political attitude, but finally yielded; whereupon Logan made a speech which, in Grant's opinion was extraordinarily effective in strengthening the Union feeling.[15] Having once committed himself to the cause of the Union, Logan gradually became as intense a partisan on the Republican side as he had been on the Democratic. In 1863,

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[13] John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections* (Cincinnati, 1901), p. 57; Alton (Ill.) *Courier*, 1853, *passim*.

[14] 36th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. 2, app., pp. 178–181; 37th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Globe*, p. 412.

[15] Grant, *Memoirs*, i, p. 244.

he was called to Washington to confer with Lincoln; and in 1864, at the latter's special request, Logan left his command to stump the states of Indiana and Illinois for the Republican ticket, on the apparent theory that Logan's services were even more important in the political field than in the command of his army corps.[16]

The results of these new Republican tactics were decisive. In Wisconsin the Democrats carried only one out of six congressional districts. In Illinois the Union party elected Oglesby, an old Republican and a picturesque soldier, as governor; chose an administration legislature; sent Oglesby's predecessor, Richard Yates, to the United States Senate in place of the Democrat Richardson; and carried eleven out of fourteen congressional districts, thus securing a majority of eight as against a minority of four in the Thirty-eighth Congress. These facts are, however, less significant for our present purpose than the rising prominence of certain elements in the administration party. In the Springfield district the Union and Republican candidate was Shelby M. Cullom, a Kentuckian by birth and as already observed, a Fillmore electoral candidate in 1856. Just east of Cullom's district was the Seventh, corresponding roughly to the area now represented in Congress by Cannon and McKinley, which sent Bromwell, a native of Maryland—another Republican of Southern stock. Farther south still, the Twelfth district, composed of the old counties opposite St. Louis, sent for the first time a Republican representative in the person of Jehu Baker, another native of Kentucky. Most extraordinary of all was the result in the Thirteenth district, containing nearly the same area as the old "Egyptian" district, which in 1860 had sent Logan to Congress by a Democratic majority of nearly four to one. It now elected, by a majority of about one thousand over his Democratic competitor, a Union congressman—the same Kuykendall who had presided over the Union convention of that year. This extraordinary political overturn for the Democratic party is not to be explained by any new elements resulting from immigration, and it is doubtful whether there was any considerable progress in the sympathy felt for distinctively Re-

[16] Lincoln, *Works*, ii, pp. 387, 596; Alexander K. McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 93.

publican doctrines. Having once made their choice for the Union, many of these southern Illinois men seem to have developed a fighting spirit which made them natural advocates of thorough-going Union policies. Undoubtedly the personal influence of John A. Logan was the most important single factor in this district. In the Thirty-seventh Congress every Republican representative from Illinois in both Houses with one exception, had been a native of New England or New York; but in 1864 a different type of Republicanism was evidently coming on from the "down-state" districts.

Nevertheless the introduction of these new elements into the administration party had less influence on the attitude of the congressional delegation than might perhaps have been expected. On the first of a series of questions involving the presidential policy of Reconstruction, namely, the resolution to reject the members-elect from the seceding states which had been reorganized under President Johnson's plan, the northern Yankees and the new recruits from the South stood together against admission.[17] As the congressional programme gradually unfolded, however, and the breach between the President and the congressional radicals grew wider, we may note the gradual breaking away from the Union party of some original Republican elements. Thus Doolittle and Randall drew upon themselves the wrath of their former Republican associates by their support of Johnson's reconstruction policy; and Orville H. Browning, the old intimate of Lincoln, became a loyal member of Johnson's cabinet. During the heated political controversies of 1866, Browning and Doolittle were on terms of intimate correspondence. They were for the president as against the radicals, though they felt keenly the blunders and offences against good taste of which he was guilty during that fateful year.[18]

It is certainly significant that with the coming of such new

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[17] Edward McPherson, *Political History of Reconstruction* (Washington, 1875), p. 110.

[18] Ill. Hist. Soc. *Journal*, iv, p. 169; cf. James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwalk, Conn., 1884–86), ii, pp. 126, 149, 162; biographical sketch of Senator Doolittle in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 281–296.

recruits as Logan, there begins also a gradual withdrawal of men who were among the founders of the Republican party. In general, however, the men from both States who were elected as Republicans or Unionists, stood together in this Congress for the series of measures which were intended to establish the civil and political equality of the negro, and to carry into effect the general congressional plan of reconstruction. Nearly all of them, for example, voted against recognizing the Johnson government in North Carolina, and in favor of the measures which established the principle of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, in the Western territories, and in Colorado. There was a substantial agreement also in favor of the Fourteenth Amendment, the great Reconstruction Act of 1867, and the Tenure of Office Act of the same date. To these general propositions there were, however, two marked exceptions: In the Senate, Doolittle voted steadily with the Democrats in support of the presidential policy; and in the House, Kuykendall, the Union representative from the old Logan district, voted on the conservative side on nearly all of these questions, though even he supported the Fourteenth Amendment.[19]

It is a familiar fact that the congressional elections of 1866 strengthened the position of the Republican radicals in Congress, though the changes were far less marked in the character of the Wisconsin delegation than in that of Illinois. In the latter state, the most important changes were, first, that in the southern Illinois district, replacing the conservative Kuykendall by a man of distinctly radical antecedents; and, secondly, the return of John A. Logan to Congress as a Republican Congressman-at-large after six years' absence, followed by his rapid rise to leadership among the thorough-going radicals of the House. The votes in this Congress show considerable wavering in the ranks, with the new recruits appearing often as regulars, while the older leaders show a marked tendency toward independent voting. For example, in the House vote of November 25, 1867, on a resolution for the impeachment of President Johnson, Cullom and Logan were among those voting for impeachment; while B. C. Cook, E. B. Washburne of Illinois, and C. C. Washburn of Wisconsin, all original Republicans,

[19] McPherson, *Reconstruction*, pp. 111–116, 160, 163, 164.

were on the other side. On this question, however, Johnson's blunders served to keep the Republicans temporarily together; in the end, the Republicans of both delegations voted unanimously for impeachment and Logan became one of the House managers.[20] In the great senatorial court of impeachment, Illinois and Wisconsin were represented by four veteran leaders of the early Republican party. In each state it was the senior senator, the man with the more conspicuous record among the founders of the party, who now in 1868 stood out against the regular organization and voted for acquittal. On the other hand, the Fifteenth Amendment united all of the Republicans in an affirmative vote, which was natural enough for the anti-slavery veterans of the fifties, but must have seemed strange to those who had known the Logan of earlier days.[21]

During Grant's first administration the alienation of the old-school Republicans took place on a large scale, though the points of departure varied with different men. In the case of many supporters of the general reconstruction policy there gradually developed a desire for measures of conciliation and a certain impatience with the habit of constant interference by the Federal government in the internal affairs of the states. In the minds of some Illinois Republicans the old doctrine of states rights was given a new interest by the controversy between Governor Palmer and General Grant, on the question of using Federal troops to restore order after the great Chicago fire. In this instance General Grant disregarded the vigorous protest of the Republican governor of the State.

Another factor which seems to have weighed heavily with Lyman Trumbull, was the annexation policy of the administration, especially as illustrated in the San Domingo project, followed as it was by the arbitrary action of the Administration Republicans in deposing Charles Sumner from the chairmanship of the Senate committee on foreign relations. Other important factors were the growing dissatisfaction with General Grant's political associates, the interest felt by many of the more independent Republicans in the reform of the civil serv-

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[20] *Ibid*, pp. 264–266.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 399. Doolittle voted against the Fifteenth Amendment, but he had now definitely separated from the Republican party.

ice, and the rise of a sentiment in favor of tariff reform.[22] It is doubtless true also that the irritation felt by the Germans on account of the sale of arms to the French Republic during the Franco-Prussian War had some influence with voters of that nationality. All of these elements contributed in varying degrees to the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, and nowhere was the political realignment resulting from that movement more striking than in Wisconsin and Illinois.

A consideration of the official leaders of the Republican party in 1861 with reference to their political attitude in 1872, gives us some startling results in both states. For the Wisconsin Republicans of 1861, we get a fairly representative list of eight names by including the following men: Governor Randall, the two United States senators, Howe and Doolittle; the four Republican representatives in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses; and Carl Schurz, the most conspicuous among the Wisconsin delegates to the Chicago convention. Of this group of eight men, only two, Senator Howe and C. C. Washburn, were identified in 1872 with the Republican organization in the State. Of the remaining six, one died in 1862; two, Doolittle and Randall, had previously broken away from the party; and two others, including Carl Schurz, were supporters of the Liberal Republican movement.

Still more striking results appear in a representative list of *ante bellum* Republicans of Illinois. Such a list would certainly include besides President Lincoln, Governor Yates, Senators Trumbull and Browning, the five Republican representatives in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, the three men who were associated with Browning as delegates-at-large to the Chicago convention, and John M. Palmer, who was probably next to Trumbull, the most conspicuous of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats. Of these thirteen men, two were dead in 1872, and one had left the state. Of the remaining ten, four—Trumbull, Browning, Davis, and Palmer were leaders of the revolt against the Republican organization. Of the Republican state officers who held office with Governor Yates in 1861,

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[22] Cf. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, ii, pp. 521–525; George S. Merriam, *Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (N. Y., 1885), ii, p. 131; the *Nation*, 1871, 1872, *passim*.

four, including the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the auditor of public accounts, and the state superintendent of public instruction, were among the insurgents of 1872.[23] Of special interest is the alienation from Lincoln's party of men who had been among his most intimate associates. It will hardly be questioned that David Davis and Leonard Swett deserve a very high place among Lincoln's confidential lieutenants in the campaign of 1860, and Thurlow Weed, their distinguished opponent in the Chicago convention, asserted in his autobiography that they "contributed more than all others to his [Lincoln's] nomination."[24] Of the Anti-Nebraskan Democrats who worked with Davis and Schurz in that convention, the most important was probably John M. Palmer. Other men who, in one way and another, sustained confidential relations with Lincoln were Gustav Koerner and William H. Herndon, his law partner and biographer. All of these men were also among the bolters of 1872.

The Nation in its issue of March 28, 1872, effectively described the lack of real unity in the Republican party after the passing of the old issues:

> The one thing necessary to constitute a man a good Republican was, for seven years at least, loyalty to the government as represented by the majority in Congress, and hatred of rebels. The government is now out of danger, the rebels have disappeared, and slavery has perished.

Under these conditions disintegration was inevitable, and the regular party leaders were opposed in 1872 by a surprising proportion of the very men who in 1856 had abandoned former party affiliations in their enthusiasm for the anti-slavery principles upon which the Republican party was founded. In 1872, most of these seceders contented themselves with attaching the adjective "Liberal" to the old party name of Republican, but the breach was too serious to be easily healed. Even in 1872, Doolittle was chairman of the Democratic national convention, and during the following decade many of the old Republican

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[23] Data compiled from the files of the New York *Tribune*, 1872; the official blue-books of Illinois and Wisconsin; and official proceedings of Republican conventions, 1856–72.

[24] Thurlow Weed, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1884), i, p. 602.

leaders—among them, Trumbull, Palmer, and Koerner—threw in their lot definitely with the Democratic party and lent the support of their names to Democratic tickets.

As the older leaders fell away, there came to the front a group of men who had no part in the pioneer work of 1856. In the Republican convention of 1872, the most conspicuous figures were doubtless Grant himself, the presidential nominee; Shelby M. Cullom, who made the nominating speech; John A. Logan, and Richard G. Oglesby—the two latter were obvious favorites in the convention and made speeches which attracted general attention.[25] All of these men, except Oglesby, were definitely outside of the Republican party in 1856. Cullom was then in the American camp, while Grant and Logan were supporters of Buchanan. The presidential candidate of the Republican party in 1872, standing on a platform which rehearsed as among the achievements of that party the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, was a man who had said quite simply and frankly in 1863, "I never was an Abolitionist, not even what could be called anti-slavery."[26] The most effective champion in Illinois of this candidate on this platform was the same Logan, who before the war had sought to increase the rigors of the Black Code in his own state, and who in 1861 had charged the responsibility for secession against the "demagogues and fanatics" of the Republican party.[27]

In conclusion, I may perhaps be permitted to call attention to a curious fact brought out quite independently of the present inquiry. Having recently constructed a building at the University of Illinois, to be known as Lincoln Hall, we have been interested in preparing, after consultation with various persons throughout the state, a list of the Illinois men who, having been associated with Lincoln either in the conflict against slavery or in the work of preserving the Union, seemed especially to deserve conspicuous recognition. An effort was made to have the list representative so far as possible of different phases of political action. The nine men finally selected for

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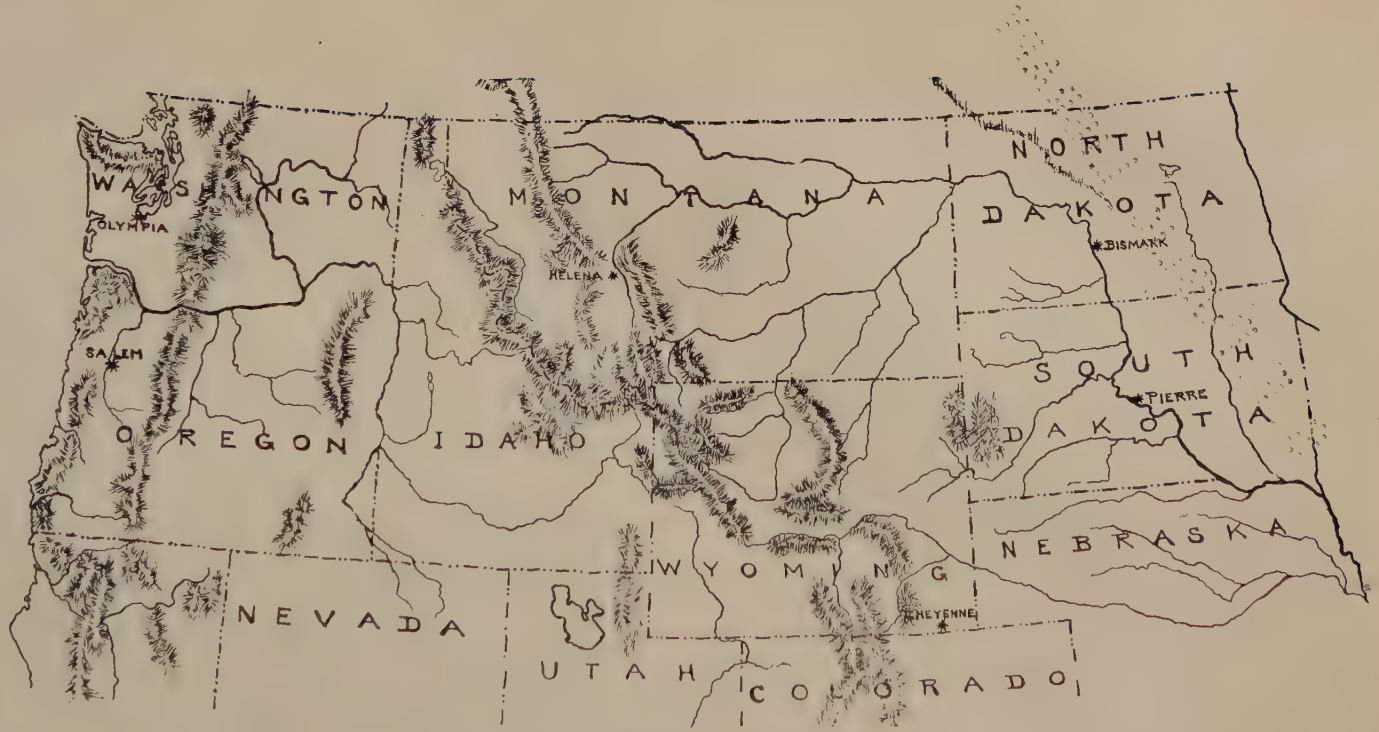
[25] New York *Tribune*, semi-weekly edition, especially June 7.

[26] Letter from U. S. Grant to E. B. Washburne, dated Aug. 30, 1863, cited in McPherson, *Reconstruction*, p. 294.

[27] 36th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Globe*, app. p. 178.

this purpose were: Douglas, Trumbull, Yates, Palmer, Logan, Lovejoy, Koerner, Davis, and Medill. Of these nine, seven were living in 1872. Of these seven survivors, not more than two were in that year identified with the same political party to which they belonged in 1860. Of the six men living in 1872, who were Republicans in 1860, four were associated with the Liberal Republican movement, and none of the four was ever restored to regular standing in the Republican party. Of the two men who were Democrats in 1860, the one survivor in 1872 was an intensely partisan leader of the Republican party.[28]

[28] I am quite aware of the necessity of much more extended studies before a quantitatively accurate statement can be made with regard to the changes in party membership, 1860–72. I trust that the facts here presented with reference to the comparatively small group of party leaders may stimulate further inquiries in this field.



THE OMNIBUS STATES

The Admission of the "Omnibus" States, 1889-90

By Frederic Logan Paxson, Ph. D.

The American Invasion

"Probably nothing can equal American avarice and enterprise,"[1] wrote the late Thomas Collier Platt, an excellent judge of both, when he visited the 15,000 inhabitants of the Black Hills region in 1878 and found a third of them bustling about their business in the city of Deadwood. Less than ten years previously the waters of the Cheyenne had been dedicated to the Sioux, and had been a part of the consideration when they had confirmed the rights of way to the railroads. Now the last region of the great plains had been broken in upon, Custer had already gone to the Little Big Horn, and in all the northern territories the uneasy forerunners of the American invasion had begun to stake their claims. What they were to accomplish in the next twelve years no man could say. Prophetic though they were, few pioneers anticipated the six states which were to be added to the Union after the passage of another territorial "omnibus" bill. Yet before the election of 1890, unbroken commonwealths filled the gap between the borders of Minnesota and Puget Sound.

As early as 1868, Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and Washington had all been organized as territories, but into none had population begun to flow freely. Remote and inaccessible, often uninviting and frequently crowded with Indian reserves,

[1] Letter, Nov. 14, 1878, to the New York *Daily Tribune*, reprinted in L. J. Lang, *Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt* (N. Y., 1910), p. 44.

these regions had lain away from the great trails and beyond the agricultural frontier. The Oregon trail had skirted their southern border. Changed into the Union Pacific railroad, the trail still pushed them one side. But with this railroad working throughout in 1869, the forces had begun to play which were to reduce the territories in the end. Mining, grazing, and agriculture, inspired by enterprise and avarice, and made practicable by the new railways, were the prosaic tools in the reclamation of this northern third of the last American frontier.

From the organization of these territories, of which only Washington antedated the War of Secession, until the United States emerged from the depressing effects of the panic of 1873, few indications of permanent establishment were to be found. Sparsely populated, with few taxables and little concrete wealth, the territories remained the borderland of civilization. They were the real "wild west." The cowboy and the miner were scarcely more numerous than the Indians themselves. Missionary bishops struggled with the refractory human material, finding much of that substantial but unadorned virtue that has resided in every frontier population, yet making almost no progress in their efforts to guide it into the ways of orthodox society.[2]

The Northern Pacific Railway

In the years immediately preceding the panic of 1873, work was begun on that northernmost of the land-grant continental railways which was predestined to serve the northwest territories. Asa Whitney had projected it, and Gov. Isaac I. Stevens had in 1853 surveyed its approximate route;[3] Josiah Perham had lobbied for it in the years succeeding; Jay Cooke had made its finance a possibility. But until long after Cooke and his friends had selected the site for the eastern extremity of the road, and had begun their real estate speculations around Duluth, its projected course traversed a region of swamp, forest, prairie land,

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[2] D. S. Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York, 1906); E. Talbot, *My People of the Plains* (N. Y., 1906).

[3] For the reports of Governor Stevens, see Pacific Railroad reports, 32d Cong., 2d sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 78, serial 758, vol. i; and 35th Cong., 2d sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* no. 46, serial 992, supplement to vol. i.

and mountains which had scarcely changed its aspect since the century of its mythical Norse explorers.[4] Duluth, on Lake Superior, and Tacoma, on Puget Sound, were the chosen gateways to the northern West. Between them, a few farmers on the Red River, a few miners along the continental divide in Idaho and Montana, represented the population to be served. The ultimate successes of the road depended upon the creative work which the road itself should do.

The panic of 1873 wrecked the banking house of Jay Cooke and brought postponement and reorganization to the Northern Pacific, as to most other economic enterprises in the United States. Under Frederick Billings, in 1878–79, the road revived; under Henry Villard it was in the autumn of 1883 pushed to a triumphant conclusion, adorned with oratory and feasting. Already, in anticipation of its coming, settlers had begun to line its right of way; town-sites, ranches, and banks had become the objects of eager speculation, while railroads had been aided by local communities which had already begun the repudiation of their obligations. Change, not creeping but rushing madly, was crossing the continent.

Talk of Statehood

In Dakota, the legislature at Yankton had determined to shift the seat of government and had created a commission which had accepted the invitation of the town of Bismarck, where the new railway crossed the Missouri River, and where the great railway bridge had recently been completed.[5] Here the festal train of Henry Villard[6] stopped long enough in September, 1883, to lay the corner-stone of a prairie capitol, in a village so generously planned that in thirty years it has not grown to fit its swaddling clothes. "The confidence of these Westerns is superb," wrote James Bryce, who visited Bismarck at this time. "Men seem to live in the future rather than in the present: not that they fail

[4] E. P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War* (Phila., 1907), ii, ch. 14–18.

[5] Gov. N. G. Ordway "Annual Report" for 1883, in 48th Cong., 1st sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 1, serial 2191, pp. 526–536.

[6] *Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier* (Cambridge, 1904), ii, p. 311.

to work while it is called today, but that they see the country not merely as it is, but as it will be, twenty, fifty, a hundred years hence, when the seedlings shall have grown to forest trees."[7]

From the census tables of 1880 may be extracted the condition of the five northern territories on the eve of the opening of the railroad. Washington, westernmost and oldest, occupied the area to which it had been reduced upon the organization of Idaho in 1863. Lying between the Columbia River and Puget Sound, it had begun to develop villages along its water front. The great fields of the Spokane country had hardly been realized. The timber of the mountains was still without a market. And though it was the second of the five territories in point of population, it had attracted only 75,116 inhabitants by 1880. Dakota, easternmost of the five, boasted nearly half the total population in 1880, with her 135,177. Intermediate between Dakota and Washington, the three mountain territories of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, had respectively 32,610, 39,159, and 20,789. In the aggregate, 302,851 inhabitants were scattered over about one-sixth of the total area of the United States.[8] From the Missouri River to the Columbia the trail remained their chief bond of communication. They possessed 2,279 miles of railroads.[9] In the next ten years the total population swelled to 1,138,166,[10] while 8,673 miles of railroad were added to their equipment.

The talk of statehood had been eard at times within the territories, immature though they were. Washington had been hopeful since the census of 1860 had counted her 11,594 pioneers,[11] and had met in 1878 in an unauthorized constitutional convention at Walla Walla.[12] Even thus early the northern counties of Idaho cast in their lot with the western neighbor, and the pro-

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[7] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (3d ed., 1895), ii, pp. 836, 837.

[8] *Tenth Census of the United States*, vol. "Population," i, p. 4.

[9] R. P. Porter, *The West from the Census of 1880* (Chicago, 1882), p. 84.

[10] *Elventh Census of United States*, vol. "Population," i, p. 2.

[11] *Ibid*, p. 2.

[12] Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington, the Rise and Progress of an American State* (N. Y., 1909), iv, p. 268.

posed Washington constitution annexed the "panhandle" with the consent of its inhabitants.

In Congress, however, there was little disposition to admit new states. Colorado had come in in 1876, and since its last territorial delegate, Thomas M. Patterson, was a Democrat, there had been a hope that it would cast three electoral votes for the Democratic candidate for president. Without its three, which were thrown against Tilden, General Hayes never could have made a successful contest for the office, and the course of history might have been changed. The two following congresses, with Democrats in control of the lower house, were indisposed to create more Republican electoral votes to weaken their fair chance of success. Not until the election of 1880 gave over to the Republican party all branches of the national government for the two years of the Forty-seventh Congress, was there even a chance for statehood movements. Organized and developed under Republican tutelage, in a time when the struggle with the South emphasized the meaning of party distinctions, these territories were in strong sympathy with the party whose creatures they were. In the Forty-seventh Congress an attempt to admit one of them received at least a hearing.

The Struggle over Dakota

Dakota was the text upon which most of the statehood arguments were preached during the eighties. Largest in population and nearest the East, if she might not come in, no territory could hope for entrance. In the debates on the numerous Dakota bills the friends of the other territories, north or south, interjected their local pleas. Nearly one-third of the total area of the United States was still under the arbitrary dominion of Congress. Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Indian Territory added their weight to the general movement that was headed by the territories of the northern group.

In both houses of Congress bills for the admission of Dakota were debated during the winter of 1882.[13] Popular conventions at Sioux Falls and Canton had demanded an enabling act, which

[13] Majority and minority reports on "House Bill 4456" are in 47th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 450, pts. 1 and 2, serial 2066.

many were disposed to grant. "I believe that all the objections which have been hitherto urged against the passage of that bill are purely partisan and malignant," declared Ingalls, of Kansas, after the debate was over. "I have no doubt that if the population of Dakota was not well known to be distinctively Republican * * * that bill would have been long ago acted upon."[14] In support of its memorials the Dakota population flooded Congress with argumentative material upon the resources of the territory, the size of its growing population, the virtue of its citizens, and their ideals and the number of its newspapers, schools, and churches. But when Hale, of Maine, urged that admission ought to be deferred because the county of Yankton had shamelessly repudiated an issue of its railroad bonds,[15] Vest, of Missouri, voiced his fears "that the people of the proposed State have neglected the religious and moral advantages so conspicuously set forth in their pamphlet,"[16] and the bill failed to get through the senate.

Dakota maintained a running fight for statehood from 1882 to 1889. Despite the failure of her bill in Congress both houses of her legislature of 1883 passed an act for holding a constitutional convention, and though this act did not receive the approval of Governor Ordway an unofficial convention based upon it met at Huron in June to memorialize Congress for the division of the territory and the admission of the southern half.[17] A subsequent convention at Sioux Falls in September, 1883, framed a constitution. Division of the territory had long been contemplated and was well-nigh universally accepted. Three widely separated groups of inhabitants had come into existence. In the

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[14] 47th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Record*, Jan. 5, 1883, p. 870.

[15] The protest of the holders of Yankton County bonds is in 47th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Misc. Doc.* no. 68, serial 1993. Cf. "First National Bank of Brunswick, Me., vs. County of Yankton," 101 U. S. 129.

[16] Minority report on "Senate Bill 1514," in 47th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no 271, pt. 2, serial 2004, p. 3. The repudiation is discussed in *Cong. Record*, Mar. 27, 1882, p. 2277.

[17] The memorial of the committee of the convention is in 50th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 709, serial 2600, p. 85. The text of the act is given, *Ibid*, p. 89. Ordway explained his refusal to approve the act in his annual report for 1883 found in 48th Cong., 1st sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 1, serial 2191, pp. 523–526.

Red River Valley lay a population that had orginated in the ambitious schemes of Selkirk, and that now constituted an overflow from Minnesota.[18] On the southeast border, touching Minnesota and Iowa, and ascending the valleys of the Big Sioux, Vermillion, James, and Missouri, a second population was so far from the valley of the Red that no community of interest was felt. West of this, the mining camps of the Black Hills might conceivably become the basis for a third commonwealth, and certainly had nothing in common with Grand Falls, or Fargo, and the wheat fields of the north. The projected line of the Northern Pacific increased the tendencies to disunion in the territory, and gave a temporary advantage to the northern half when Bismarck became the new territorial capital. In this proposed division the Democratic opposition found its most used, if not most sincere argument against statehood.

The measure which had failed of passage in 1882, because of the intervention of Senator Hale, was not debated seriously during the Forty-seventh Congress, nor until the second session of the Forty-eighth. In March, 1884, the senate committee on territories brought in, with a favorable report, a bill for the admission of the southern half as Dakota.[19] For the new name to be applied to the northern half, after rejecting Pembina, Mandan, Garfield, Jefferson, Ogalalla, Franklin, and Hidasta, the committee had agreed on Lincoln. On December 9, 1884, Benjamin Harrison, then chairman of the committee on territories, called up this measure, which passed the senate a week later by a strictly party vote. In the desultory debate upon the bill, Harrison pointed out that all the "conditions of emigration have changed. The emigrant who is seeking a home in the West does not now use as his vehicle a pack-train, a Conestoga wagon, or even a broad-horn. The great bulk of the people who have gone

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[18] A bill for a territory of North Dakota was reported favorably in 1882, 47th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 552, serial 2066. The sale of postage stamps, etc., in the northern half amounted in the year ending June 30, 1880, to $30,540.03; for the half-year ending Dec. 31, 1881, it was $31,787.66. *Ibid*, p. 1.

[19] 48th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 320, serial 2174. An elaborate report on the condition of the Crow and Sioux of Montana (*Sen. Rep.* no. 283), fills 404 pages of this volume.

into Dakota have gone upon the steam-car, many of them within sight of the home which tey were to take up under the homestead laws of the United States * * * whereas in the case of the state of Indiana it was thirty years after the admission of that State into the Union before a single mile of railroad was built in its territory.''[20] The Democratic opposition to the bill dwelt upon the injustice of dividing the territory, and professed not to see the general demand which had planned for a division for at least ten years. The bill was smothered in the Democratic house of representatives, although the annual report of Governor Pierce had shown that, on the score of population at least, both halves of Dakota were amply entitled to admission.[21]

Before Congress again took up the affairs of Dakota, that territory had both exhibited further signs of life and been shown to be well within the farthest American frontier. Since 1870 its northern neighbor, Manitoba, had been a state in the Canadian Dominion, into which (in 1873) British Columbia also was admitted. The latter province had placed as the price for its entrance the completion of a railroad which should render Canada independent of the United States. In November, 1885, Donald A. Smith drove the last spike of the Canadian Pacific, which established a new railroad frontier beyond the limits of any of the northern territories of the United States.[22] Within Dakota, in the same year, the statehood progress had gained momentum. Not content with the work of the extra-legal convention of 1883, the territorial legislature authorized on March 9, 1885, the formation of another constitution. For this purpose a convention assembled at Sioux Falls on September 8, 1885, chose A. J. Edgerton, a former United States senator from Minnesota, as president, and adjourned on September 25 after completing a constitution

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[20] 48th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Record*, Dec. 9, 1884, p. 109. Senator Vest spoke against the bill on Dec. 10. *Ibid*, p. 142.

[21] An. Rep. for 1884, of Gov. Gilbert A. Pierce in 48th Cong., 2d sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 1, serial 2287, pp. 540–542.

[22] B. Willson, *Lord Strathcona* (London, 1902), p. 208; A. Begg, *History of the Northwest* (Toronto, 1895), iii, pp. 66–79; F. B. Tracy, *Tercentenary History of Canada* (Toronto, 1908), iii, pp. 966–978; A. L. Haydon, *Riders of the Plains* (London, 1910), pp. 102–120.

which once more provided for the division of the territory.[23] Ratified in November by an overwhelming majority, this constitution was ready for the Forty-ninth Congress when it assembled in the following month, and remained the basis of the South Dakota movement until the end. Dakota was booming, and though the myth of the "banana belt" had been dispelled the possibilities of the Red River Valley as the home of "No. 1, hard wheat"[24] were gaining recognition; diversified agriculture, even, was being attempted; James J. Hill had begun his experiment in the improvement of livestock by the distribution of imported bulls.

The United States senate, under Republican control, had in 1884 been quite ready to admit Dakota. Early in 1886 Harrison again brought up the project in the form of a bill to admit under the Sioux Falls constitution.[25] Despite the Democratic insistence that division was only an unworthy partisan dodge, the bill passed the senate; the house once more stifled the measure. Unable however to justify the exclusion of Dakota on its merits, William M. Springer, Democratic chairman of the house committee on territories, reported for party purposes, on May 25, 1886, a bill to admit Dakota as a single state.[26]

The Democratic opposition found its excuse in what it interpreted to be the real desire of the people of Dakota. The Sioux Falls convention had again assembled in July, 1886, to beg that Congress finish the matter at the current session, but it had prayed in vain.[27] The final session of the Forty-ninth Congress adjourned with action still unreached and the Democratic party

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[23] The act of March 9, the memorial to Congress, and the constitution of 1885 are printed in 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 15, serial 2355, pp. 22–68.

[24] Joel Benton, "The Home of the Blizzard," in *Cosmopolitan*, Mar. 1887, p. 13; R. D. Paine, *The Greater America* (N. Y., 1907), p. 95.

[25] His report contains many documents and gives a review of the statehood movement. 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 15, serial 2355, pp. 1–75.

[26] 49th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 2577, serial 2442. Adverse reports on various bills dividing Dakota were made at the same time. *Ibid*, No. 2578–2580, serial 2443.

[27] The memorial, dated July 14, 1886, again demanded division. *Ibid*, *Sen. Misc. Doc.* no. 144, serial 2346.

still unconvinced. To produce conviction, in the November elections of 1887 the question of division along the seventh standard parallel (about five miles south of 46°, north latitude) was submitted to the vote of the whole territory, with the result that while the majority of the whole vote cast was for division, more than half of the voters north of the line opposed it.[28] In the following session of Congress, the debate turned upon the meaning of this vote. Confirmed by the attitude of the northern half, the Democratic majority in the house of representatives was further pleased by the conduct of a convention at Aberdeen on December 15, 1887, which demanded single statehood.[29] Their relief, however, was diluted by the appearance of a manifesto addressed to the convention by W. M. Springer—"prepared by a very eminent personage to be used as a sort of executive message," as one of his critics alleged[30]—which congratulated the convention upon its existence as the "first concerted movement on the part of the people of Dakota for single statehood."[31]

Early in 1888 the senate committee on territories, now headed by Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut,[32] a New Englander without parochial views, gave favorable report to another Dakota–Lincoln bill similiar to those which had already passed the senate in 1884 and 1886.[33] The debate on senate bill no. 185 (as this measure was named in the calendar) was stereotyped, perfunctory, and in a thin house. The senate had been through it too often to be greatly excited. The Democratic minority, unable to check the bill in the upper house, relied with confidence upon the determination reached by their party's caucus, in the house of repre-

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[28] Tables, and a map showing the distribution of the vote, are in 50th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 1025, serial 2601, pp. 23, 27.

[29] The Aberdeen memorial is given in *Ibid*, *Cong. Record*, Feb. 15, 1888, p. 1229. The text of the Springer letter is in *Ibid*, *House Rep.* no. 1025, serial 2601, p. 32.

[30] Senator C. K. Davis, of Minnesota, *Ibid*, *Cong. Record*, Apr. 11, 1888, p. 2886; cf. *Ibid*, pp. 2833, 2834, 3135.

[31] *Ibid*, p. 2886.

[32] L. A. Coolidge, *An Old-Fashioned Senator: Orville H. Platt of Connecticut* (N. Y., 1910), ch. 10.

[33] 50th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 75, serial 2519, pp. 1–79.

sentatives, to admit Dakota as a single state or not at all.[34] The obstructionists, as usual, professed to see a conspiracy to divide a territory against its will, to override self-government, and to pad the Republican electoral returns. The prophetic voice of Hiawatha was urged against the crime:[35]

> Then a dark and dreary vision
> Passed before me, vague and cloud like,
> I beheld our people *severed*,
> All forgetful of my counsels,
> Saw the remnants of our people
> Weakened, warring with each other.

The advocates of the bill again exploited the undoubted development of the community, and pointed to the growing list of duplicated state institutions to which the Dakota legislature had given birth. Two universities at Grand Forks and Vermilion were already at work upon their grist of bachelors. With its usual ease the senate passed the bill; the house as usual failed to act.

While senate bill no. 185, for the admission of Dakota, remained in the house committee on territories, other projects came to bear it company and to demand statehood for southern territories as well as northern. Utah was perennial in its persistence, and remained excluded only through the unhappy accident of polygamy. New Mexico[36] and Arizona both had their adherents; while the name of Oklahoma was coming to recognition as the title of a future territory.[37] North of Utah, though Idaho[38] and Wyoming showed little sign of statehood life, both Montana and Washington were pressing after Dakota.

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[34] The caucus resolution as printed in *Ibid, Cong. Record*, Apr. 16, 1888, p. 3002; cf. Springfield (Mass.) *Weekly Republican*, Apr. 13, 1888, p. 4.

[35] As cited by David Turpie of Indiana 50th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Record*, Apr. 12, 1888, pp. 2911. The passage in this form was more nearly pertinent than it would have been if correctly quoted.

[36] L. B. Prince, *New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood* (Santa Fe, 1910).

[37] Solon J. Buck, "The Settlement of Oklahoma," in *Trans. Wis. Acad.*, xv, pp. 325–380.

[38] John Hailey, *History of Idaho* (Boise, 1910).

Washington's Aspirations

The territory of Washington, whose constitution of 1878 had received cold comfort at the national capital, felt the inspiration that came from railroad lines when the Northern Pacific began to build east from Wallula over its Pend Oreille division. In 1882 a bill for its admission got as far as a favorable report in the Republican house of representatives,[39] and in the following year it gained notoriety for itself by extending the suffrage to women. In 1885 the participation of its citizens in the anti-Chinese riots, which more specially discredited Wyoming, gave trouble to its advocates and was explained away laboriously in Congress.[40] But in 1886 an enabling act[41] passed the senate under the patronage of Senators Dolph and Platt and the glamor of the name of "that grand man, Doctor Whitman,"[42] only to be lost in the house with the Dakota bill of the same year. The annexation to Washington of the Idaho panhandle, which Hailey, the Idaho delegate, declared to have been "a bone of contention for the last twenty years,"[43] was contemplated in this bill. It was made the subject of a special act which at the next session passed both houses on its merits, but expired by pocket veto in the desk of President Cleveland. During 1887 and 1888 various bills for Washington were introduced and discussed, without a vote, and with slight hope of passage until the election of 1888 was over.

Montana

Montana lagged perceptibly behind Dakota and Washington. Its western end had been covered by mining camps and adver-

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[39] 47th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 690, serial 2067.

[40] E. S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (N. Y., 1909), pp. 275–279. The documents concerning the riots were included in the annual report of Gov. Watson C. Squire, 49th Cong., 2d sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 1, serial 2468, pp. 866–915.

[41] 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 61, serial 2355.

[42] The senate vote was 30 to 13, with 33 absent. 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Record*, pp. 2997, 3354.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 1707. The Coeur d'Alene mines, recently discovered in the panhandle, aroused movements for annexation in both Montana and Washington.

tised by the last stand of the desperado before the vigilance committees, but had not developed before 1880 a permanent, taxable population of any consequence. With the progress of the Northern Pacific a visible change commenced. Cattlemen first, then farmers, entered the eastern region of the territory, while the rush of the Cœur d'Alene miners in 1883–84 revived the reputation of the mountainous West. A spontaneous constitution was framed at Helena in 1884,[44] signed by William A. Clark as president, and ratified by the people in the same year.

An unusual favor was accorded to the territory when in 1885 Cleveland appointed a resident, Samuel T. Hauser, as its governor.[45] Not all the carpet-baggers found occupation in the South —the West was full of them, and the plague increased as the offices of a prospective state came into view for needy politicians. One of the Dakota advocates complained:[46]

> Tradition informs us that the wise men all came from the East; and so our Republican friends, unwilling to depart from the teaching of the past, determined that history should repeat itself. Under Democratic supremacy we find that quite an invasion has been made upon what was supposed to be inflexible facts. Instead of the wise men coming from the East, we now learn that they come from the South. * * * Some of these hot-house specimens who were too frail to stand transplanting in a northern clime soon gave up their commissions and returned to the genial influences of their own civilization. Others, holding religiously to the doctrine that a Federal officer should neither die nor resign, staid with us, became acclimated, and promise in the years to come to develop into tolerably good and useful citizens.

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[44] The constitution and memorial are in *Ibid*, *Sen. Misc. Doc.* no. 39, serial 2342. Cf. "Annual Report" of Gov. J. S. Crosby, 1884, in 48th Cong., 2d sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 1, serial 2287, p. 563. An elaborate speech on Montana was made by the territorial delegate, J. K. Toole, during the debate of 1889. 50th Cong., 2nd sess., *Cong. Record*, Jan. 15, 1889, pp. 820–829.

[45] W. H. Maguire, "Samuel T. Hauser: An Early Governor of Montana," in *Magazine of Western Hist.*, xiii, p. 589.

[46] 50th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Record*, Jan. 15, 1889, p. 821.

Blocked by Party Tactics

Only once, in the twelve years after the admission of Colorado, did the Republicans control the government with that completeness which would have made it possible to enact their statehood laws. From 1881 to 1883 they had this power; but the continental railways were not yet done, most of the northern territories had not begun their startling growth, and the one good candidate was tainted with repudiation. After 1883 a Democratic house, or president, or both, could negative Republican schemes. Year after year close party balance forbade any gratuitous derangement of party lines. Democrats in both houses talked much of equity and popular desires, but were resolved to admit no Republican territory on the eve of a possible Democratic success in 1884, 1886, or 1888. In all the territories, population was increasing, state institutions were opening and expanding, universities were taking up their new public lands,[47] but territorial politics was a fatal defect in the Democratic mind. In vain the Democratic citizens of the applicant territories belabored their party friends in Congress. So long as that party had a chance to maintain or increase its power, so long as new states would endanger that chance, statehood ambitions failed of realization. Rarely did the obstructing leaders admit that they were playing politics; high principles flowed easily from their lips, but the nature of their arguments and quibbles gives their case away.

The bill for the admission of Dakota (which had passed the senate April 19, 1888) was pending in the house when the election of Benjamin Harrison as president of the United States, changed the whole territorial problem, and removed the basis of Democratic obstruction. "If these territories be not admitted this session," declared "Sunset" Cox, then terminating his long and prominent career, "they will surely be admitted under Republican auspices in the next Congress, and their poli-

[47] A bill making land grants to the territorial universities became a law Feb. 18, 1881. Progress in taking up the lands may be traced in the several governors' reports.

tics will take the reflection of the friends who give them their early nurture."[48]

The Omnibus Bill

Recognizing this alteration in prospect, it became the desire of the Democrats, from the moment of the assembling of the last session of the Fiftieth Congress (December, 1888), to hasten the admission of the territories, and by hastening to control the result. As early as December 17, Springer reported a bill for not only the Republican territories of Dakota, Washington, and Montana, but for Democratic New Mexico as well.[49] The aim of Democratic strategy was to secure the admission of New Mexico, and to avert the division of Dakota, before the whole government was on March 4, 1889, handed over to the triumphant Republicans.

While Springer's bill, which soon was characterized as the "omnibus" bill, was in its early stages the house took up the senate bill of the previous session (no. 185), debated it in detail and then amended it to death. The amendment was no other than the "omnibus" bill for the admission of four states—Dakota, Montana, Washington, and New Mexico; and with this appendage the bill was returned, on January 19, to the house of its origin for reconsideration. But the senate could see the day of its deliverance from the control of the house. What it could not accomplish during its six years of servitude, it could easily bring to pass any time after March 4, 1889, and the house amendment only stirred it to renewed insistence. A Republican representative had already declared it to be "too late for the Democratic party to shield themselves from the wrath of the people due to their betrayal of their trust in the matter of the Territories, for lo these four full years of Democratic administration the Territory of Dakota has been ready for admission to the Union * * * She has been kept out of the Union because she is not barbarous and treacherous, nor Democratic * * * with the

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[48] William Van Zandt Cox and Milton Harlow Northrup, *Life of Samuel Sullivan Cox* (Syracuse, 1899), p. 218.

[49] 50th Cong., 1st sess., *House Rep.* no. 1025, serial 2601, pp. 1–145.

hope that the power of the Democratic party might be projected for four more years.'' [50]

On February 1, 1889, Platt reported adversely upon the Dakota bill as amended by the house, and the measure went to conference. Twice the conference committee found itself unable to agree, and twice it was ordered by each house to resume the conference, which reached a final report only on February 20. When the bill came to be read in its last form it was discovered that it remained an ''omnibus,'' though it had been freed of all of its Democratic features. Four states were still provided for, but the particular four marked a complete victory for the senate and the Republican party. New Mexico had disappeared. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were, by the new bill which received the signature of Cleveland, February 22, 1889, authorized to prepare their constitutions and enter the Union. Political manœuvering defeated its own end. At any time between 1883 and 1888 the Democrats might probably have bargained New Mexico and Arizona against the inevitable Dakotas; now they had held out so long that they had nothing to offer and no strength with which to withstand the bludgeon of Republican success at the polls in 1888.

The Four States Admitted

On the fourth of July, in accordance with the terms of the ''omnibus'' act, constitutional conventions assembled at the capitals of all the territories designated in the law. They assembled also in Cheyenne and Boise, for Wyoming and Idaho. Discouraged in their ambition to be considered in the general bill, the people of the last-named territories still hoped that the Fifty-first Congress would be generous. Their work came easily to the last of the frontier conventions. Never have American citizens along the border shown weakness or an uncertain touch when called upon to draft a frame of government. Drawn by a selective process from the young, vigorous, and most progressive classes of the older states, each new state has filtered its ideas and institutions out of those of its forebears, while constitution-

[50] C. H. Grosvenor, of Ohio, in *Id*, 2d sess. *Cong. Record*, Jan. 17, 1889, App. p. 63.

making has been repeated so many times that parlimentary instincts are congenital throughout the West. The constitutions made during the summer of 1889 were, like those of their generation, long and detailed, approximating codes rather than fundamentals, offering striking documents in the momentous "case of the American People *versus* Themselves."

Admission came in the autumn of 1889. By the terms of the "omnibus" act the president of the United States was charged with the examination of the new constitutions, and was entrusted with discretionary power in proclaiming the admission of the states.[52] On November 2 came North Dakota and South Dakota; Montana [53] followed in a proclamation of November 8; Washington was declared a member of the Union on November 11. The confidence of Wyoming[54] and Idaho[55] was ultimately justified. Although as statehood propositions they could urge few arguments based either upon population or developed resources, they found Congress wearied with a prolonged debate and ready to wind up that portion of the business which might lead to a further strengthening of the Republican party.[56] Under the guidance of O. H. Platt both of the constitutions framed without sanction in 1889, were accepted. Idaho became a state by special act of July 3, 1890, while Wyoming was admitted by the same

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[51] Francis Newton Thorpe, "Washington and Montana. Have they made a Mistake in their Constitutions?" in *Century Magazine*, Feb., 1890, p. 508.

[52] Platt had discussed the method of admission by proclamation, 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Cong. Record*, Apr. 1, 1886, p. 3001; favorable and adverse reports in the case of J. B. Belford, of Colorado, are in 44th Cong., 2d sess., *House Rep.* no. 67, serial 1769.

[53] An elaborate review of the Montana election occurred before the House Committee on Privileges and Elections. 51st Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 538, serial 2704, pp. 1–172.

[54] 50th Cong., 2d sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 2695, serial 2619.

[55] *Ibid*, *Sen. Rep.* No. 2691, serial 2619; 51st Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Rep.* no. 316, serial 2704.

[56] Ineffective pleas for Arizona and New Mexico were made by their territorial delegates during the Idaho debate: Marcus A. Smith, Arizona, 50th Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Record*, Apr. 2, 1890, p. 2944; Antonio Joseph, New Mexico, *Ibid*, p. 2991.

process a week later.[57] "The Republican majority in the Senate will be increased * * * to fourteen, which it is hoped will prove large enough to offset any possible Democratic gains in that body for at least four years to come,"[58] lamented the New York *Nation,* which had already warned the Republicans that "either one of them is liable to become a Democratic state within a few years."[59]

Conclusions

In no other twelve months in the history of the United States have six new states been added to the Union. That Congress should have dallied with them for years in the struggle for partisan advantage, is in no way surprising. The admission of new states has nearly always been a matter of political adjustment. But that over so wide an area, reasonable claims to statehood should have appeared at a single time, emphasizes the fact that the frontier had gone, that settlement was following new lines. Throughout the greater part of these new states, homes were out of reach. The familiar prairie wagon played small part in bringing in the population. Instead of this, development was arrested until railway access was obtained, and for a decade there flourished the rough and ready social life that has been photographed by Owen Wister in *The Virginian.* At the close of this period settlers, institutions, telephones, game laws, and politics entered with a rush, and change came instantaneously throughout the vast region. "Living men," writes the novelist in words of inspired accuracy, "Living men, not very old yet, have seen the Indian on the war-path, the buffalo stopping the train, the cow-boy driving his cattle, the herder watching his sheep, the government irrigation dam, and the automobile—have seen every one of these slides which progress puts for a moment into its magic-lantern and removes to replace with a new one."[60]

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[57] The texts of the various enabling acts, constitutions, and proclamations may be found in Francis Newton Thorpe (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws* (7 vols. Washington, 1909).

[58] *Nation,* July 10, 1890, p. 21.

[59] *Ibid,* April 10, 1890, p. 287.

[60] Owen Wister, *Members of the Family* (N. Y., 1911), p. 9.

The delays occasioned by the nice balance of national parties held back the maturer territories until the newer had caught up, but had there been no obstruction, their admission could have been distributed over only a few more months. "Standing upon the thresholds of these young states, and in the morning of another century," Cox, the orator at Huron on July 4, 1889, had "glimpses of the far future of their destiny." Already he heard "the cheerful music of requited toil, inspiring the builders of new homes and the founders of new commonwealths." "Is it not probable," he asked his acquiescent hearers, "that in these new states, in the very heart of the continent, may be found the shining nucleus and the concentrated genius of the most miraculous progress known to human society?"[61]

More than 800,000 inhabitants were added during the eighties to these six states, raising their total population to 1,138,166. They settled chiefly at the extremes, Dakota alone having 511,527;[62] yet along the whole line of the Northern Pacific their presence proved the validity of the statehood demand. In their universities and schools, their institutions and their opinions, they were the most intense of Americans.[63] Their participation in national government showed independence in theories and practice.

Twelve senators and seven representatives, all of them Republicans, were the first contribution of the new states to Congress. Trained by Republicans, their initial politics could hardly have been different. Yet a few far-sighted politicians, knowing the economic foundations of the West, doubted the submissive loyalty of these states to any party,[64] and were justified before the administration of Benjamin Harrison was ended. In their essential relations these states were ultra democratic, and unnatural allies of any party under suspicion of special privilege; they were, as every West has been, debtor communities,

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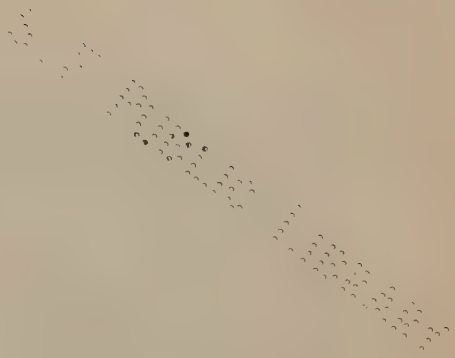
[61] *Life of Cox*, p. 220.

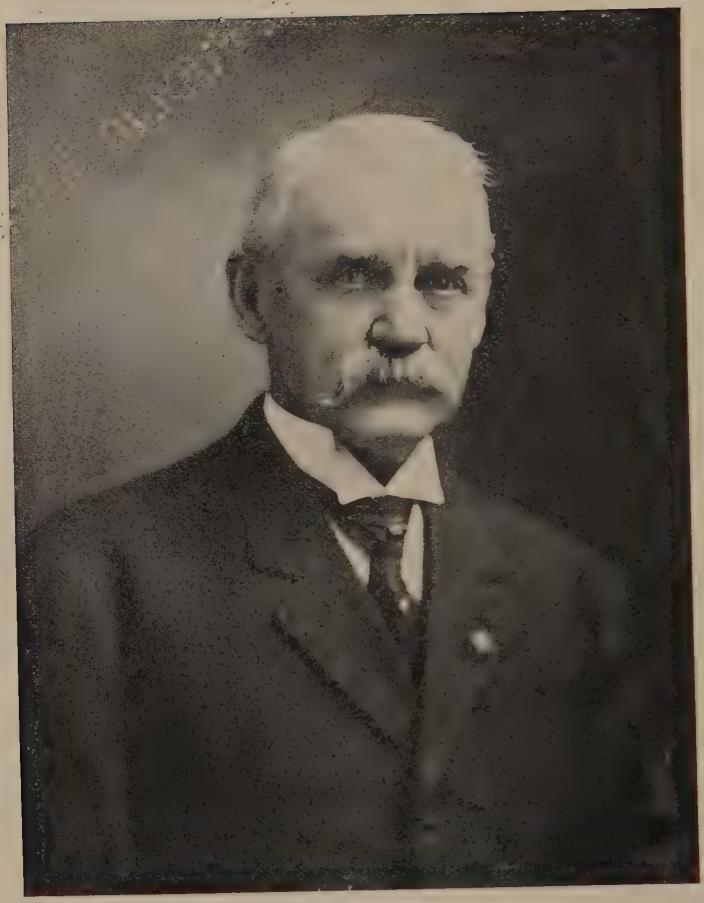
[62] *Eleventh Census of the United States*, vol. "Population," i, p. 2.

[63] P. F. McClure, "Dakota," in *Harper's Magazine*, Feb., 1889, pp. 347–364; Julian Ralph, "The Dakotas," in *Ibid*, May 1892, pp. 895–908.

[64] William V. Byars (ed.), *An American Commoner: Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland* (Columbia, Mo., 1900), p. 173.

therefore a poor reliance for a party pledged by its history to fight inflation; their anti-corporation proclivities still further weakened their conviction of Republican perfection. Because of all these qualities, the "omnibus" states not only are a terminal post in the history of the expanding West, but mark a beginning in those party reorganizations that accompany the transition from the first American epoch to the next.





George B. Merrick

Genesis of Steam Navigation on Western Rivers

By George Byron Merrick and William R. Tibbals

In a former compilation by one of the writers of this paper it was the aim to give as far as possible, the histories of the steam-propelled-vessels on the upper Mississippi—their names, tonnage, where built, description, etc. In the present paper the endeavor will be to rescue from oblivion the names of the officers who manned those boats from 1823 to recent years, and to give as many details of their activities as it is possible to gather from such ephemeral contemporary records as the newspapers of the day, or from the memories or diaries of the few surviving members of the craft who yet remain in their snug-harbors along the banks of the great river between St. Louis and St. Paul. From this latter source much of worth and interest has been gleaned. Such survivors, despite the burden of years pressing upon them—most of them having passed the four-score mark—have generously devoted time, thought, and strength to the perfecting of this record.[1]

More than this, both of the present compilers have had actual river experience—Mr. Merrick's extending through a term of

1 Acknowledgments for aid in preparing these records are made to Capt. Isaac H. Moulton, La Crosse; Capt. George H. Hazzard, St. Paul; Capt. Daniel Hall, Trufant, Mich.; Capt. John Killeen, Dubuque; Capt. Harry Leitch, Quincy, Ill.; Capt. William Kelly, St. Louis; Prof. H. E. Downer, Davenport, Iowa; Capt. J. W. Campbell, Burlington, Iowa, deceased; and the Iowa State Historical Society.

only seven seasons;[2] but Captain Tibbals's including more than fifty years of active service as pilot and master.[3]

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[2] George B. Merrick, now of Madison, was born in Niles, Mich., Sept. 21, 1841. When thirteen years of age his father removed to Prescott, Wis., where he was agent for the Minnesota Packet Company, so that as a boy young Merrick was interested in steamboat matters. For somewhat more than a year he worked in the office of the *Northwestern Democrat*, published by D. M. Lusk and William J. Whipple, and in the spring of 1856 shipped as cabin-boy with Sam S. Fifield on the "Kate Cassell." The next season Merrick went on the "Fanny Harris" as "cub" engineer, later supplying the place of second clerk under Charles G. Hargus of Dubuque. The following year, Merrick acted as pilot on St. Croix River; and from 1859 to 1862 was either pilot or clerk on the Mississippi steamers "H. S. Allen," "Kate Cassell," "Enterprise," and "Fanny Harris." During the winters he worked in various printing offices. Aug. 6, 1862, he enlisted in company A, 30th Wisconsin Infantry, serving therein for three years. After two years in the War Department at Washington, he was employed in New York as a steamship agent until 1876, when he took up editorial work at River Falls, Wis.; he also acted as railway agent at the same point. In 1885 he came to Madison, where for five years he was employed as proof-reader in the adjutant-general's office and later in the Madison *Democrat* office, and since 1897 as accountant for the University. In 1895–96 Merrick was adjutant-general of the Grand Army of the Republic for Wisconsin. He aided in compiling the *Roster of Wisconsin Volunteers* (Madison, 1886) and is the author of a *Roster and Itinerary of the 30th Wisconsin Infantry* (Madison, 1896), a *Genealogy of the Merrick Family* (Madison, 1902), and *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1909).—Ed.

[3] William R. Tibbals was born in Bennington, Vt., June 27, 1832; came to Galena, Ill., in 1851. His first experience on the upper river was a pleasure trip to St. Paul in the summer of 1852, going up on the "West Newton," Capt. Daniel Smith Harris, and returning on the "Nominee," Captain Orrin Smith. The fare was $1.50 for the round trip, the two boats running a strong opposition at the time. In the spring of 1854 Captain Tibbals started out on the "Nominee" to learn the river from Galena to St. Paul, under the guidance of John Arnold and Joseph Armstrong, both first-class pilots. About the first of June, 1854, the crew of the "Nominee" was transferred to the "Galena," which, with four other boats of the Minnesota Packet Company was chartered by the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad for an ex-

William R. Tibbals

Western River Steamboating

When, in 1808, the successful trips of Robert Fulton's "Clermont" and other steam-driven vessels on the Hudson had demonstrated the practicability of the application of steam to river navigation, the interest of capital was at once attracted to this new line of investment. The exploitation of the Hudson and other Eastern waters was soon under way; but the Western rivers were before long recognized as offering a larger field for such investments.

Fulton himself was able to command the influence and capital necessary for the undertaking. In December, 1810, the Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company was incorporated by Daniel D. Tompkins, Robert R. Livingston, DeWitt Clinton, Robert Fulton, and Nicholas J. Roosevelt to operate steamers on the Western

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cursion to St. Paul, to celebrate the opening of the railroad as far as the Mississippi River, and incidentally to advertise the property. Young Tibbals was detailed to go to Chicago and lay in a stock of wines, fruits, and confections, his purchase amounting to over $3,000. There were about a thousand people on the excursion, including some two hundred women. Among the notables were ex-President Millard Fillmore, Hon. Edward Bates, Hon. John A. Dix, Hon. Francis Blair, Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Rev. Leonard Bacon, Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Thurlow Weed, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and many other men of national reputation, not less than one hundred of whom were editors of the leading newspapers of the country. On arrival at St. Paul the party was transported to Minnehaha Falls in several hundred Pembina carts; the annual "train" happened to be in St. Paul at the time, and no other means of transportation was available. Captain Tibbals secured his first license in 1855, and until 1904 was constantly employed on the river as pilot or master on many of the finest boats on the upper river. In the fall of 1867, as master of the "Ocean Wave," he took that boat, with a tow of barges, from Winona, Minn., to New Orleans—the first cargo of bulk wheat ever taken down the river. It was shipped to Liverpool in the new ship "John Geddy," waiting for the cargo. In 1890 he was appointed master of the government steamer "J. G. Parke," which he commanded until his appointment in 1895 by President Cleveland as supervising inspector of steamboats, which office he retained until the second year of President McKinley's administration. His last service on the river was in 1904, as captain of the new and beautiful steamer "Quincy," running during the World's Fair between St. Louis and St. Paul, thus completing 51 years upon the river. In summing up his service he says: "After

waters under the Fulton-Livingston patents.[4] N. J. Roosevelt was a brother of former President Theodore Roosevelt's grandfather.

This company sought to monopolize the business of steamboating on the Western waters, and to this end obtained from the legislature of Louisiana the passage of a bill granting them the exclusive right of navigating the waters of that State with steam vessels for the term of fourteen years, with the privilege of renewing their charter at the end of that time. Any one violating this monopoly was subject to a fine of $500 for each offense—that is to say, for each time a steamboat entered Louisiana waters.

In the year 1811 the new company established a shipyard at Pittsburgh and there built their first vessel. Fulton's company transferred, intact, both the model and the motive power of their successful Eastern vessels to the radically differing conditions of the Western waters. The Hudson is a tide-water stream for nearly half its course, with but little current; it is of uniform depth, and in its entire navigable length is framed with rocky shores that preclude any great changes in its channel. The "Clermont" and her successors were built on sea-going lines, with a minimum draft of about eight feet of water. The boilers were placed in the hold, and the vertical cylinder was bedded upon the keelson. The power was applied to the side-wheels, which at first were attached to a solid shaft extending from side to side, by the vertical oscillating cylinder connected with a "gallows-frame" walking-beam. With this equipment it was possible to secure but two motions—both wheels revolving ahead or back-

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all these years of labor, through storms and floods and seasons of low water, mostly done before the government had spent a dollar for improving or lighting the river, it is, perhaps, permissible for me to add that the only steamboat that was ever injured while in my care was the side-wheeler 'Keokuk;' she struck a [sunken] boulder that had rolled from the bluff at Chimney Rock and lodged in the channel without anybody knowing of it. It took three steamboats to pull the 'Keokuk' off the boulder; but the injury to her bottom was patched up by her crew, and she proceeded to the ways at Le Claire under her own steam." Captain Tibbals lives in Dubuque, and maintains a lively interest in everything pertaining to the Mississippi River and its commerce.—Ed.

[4] Archer B. Hulbert, *The Ohio River* (New York, 1906), p. 330.

ing at the same time. This feature did not permit the pilot to turn his boat in its length, and made it difficult to handle a steamer in the tortuous and contracted channels of Western rivers. To overcome this difficulty in turning the vessel, the "Clermont" and other Eastern boats were rigged with two masts, carrying sails, by whose manipulation the boats could be turned in the more expanded and deeper waters of the Hudson.

All of these features were transferred to the Western waters and incorporated in the "New Orleans," the initial boat built in 1811 by the Fulton-Livingston Company at Pittsburgh. Fulton seems to have realized the advantages to be derived from independent wheels, and had secured this to a partial extent by means of clutches, by which one or the other of the wheels could be disconnected, and the power applied to one wheel only, so that the vessel could more readily be turned. The editor of a St. Louis paper, writing from New York, says:[5]

> The machine which moves her wheels is called, we believe, a twenty-four horse machine, or equal to the power of twenty-four horses, and is kept in motion by steam from a copper boiler eight or ten feet long. The wheels are on each side, similar to those on water-mills, and under cover. They are moved backward or forward, *separately or together*, at pleasure.

The "Clermont" made her initial trip in 1807; the improvement noted above appeared in 1808, indicating that the genius which had applied Watts's steam-engine to the propulsion of vessels was actively engaged in perfecting the work so begun.

There are discrepancies in the accounts of Fulton's first boat on Western waters. Most authorities agree that she was named "New Orleans," but some call her the "Orleans." One presents a wood-cut showing a steamboat bearing the name "Orleans." It is a *stern-wheel* boat.[6] There can be no doubt but that this is an error as regards the style of boat; for the first three boats built by the Fulton-Livingston company adhered to the Fulton

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[5] Missouri *Gazette*, St. Louis, 1808. The italics are the present editor's.

[6] James T. Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory and Disasters on Western Waters* (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 7. This is one of the earliest and most complete compilations relating to early river navigation.

model—side-wheel and vertical engine.[7] The vertical engine could not be used in connection with a stern-wheel.

Following the "New Orleans," the "Comet," a small boat of twenty-five tons, was launched in 1812; and the "Vesuvius" two years later. These were of the same sea-going model, with engines and boiler in the hold, and each drew far more water than the river afforded at any season except that of the early spring or after the beginning of the autumn rains. They went down the river after long delays at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), but were unable to return owing to too great draft and lack of power.

The "Enterprise," seventy-five tons, was built in 1814 under the Fulton patents at Brownsville, Pennsylvania. She reached New Orleans, where she was impressed by General Jackson and used in repelling the British attack upon that place. In May,

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[7] P. S. Bush, an old resident of Covington, Ky., tells of seeing the "New Orleans" in December, 1811, just a century ago, as she passed his home on the banks of the Ohio. His observation confirms the assumption that the "New Orleans" was a side-wheel, walking-beam boat. An alarm having been given of a strange object coming down the river, "all the family immediately ran to the bank. We saw something, I knew not what, but supposed it was a saw-mill, *from the working of the lever beam*, making its slow but solemn progress with the current. We were shortly afterwards informed that it was a steamboat."—Cited by Hulbert, *Ohio River*, p. 332.

On Oct. 30-Nov. 2, 1911, there was held at Pittsburgh a celebration in honor of the centennial anniversary of the setting forth of the "New Orleans" upon her trip down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. A replica of the original—styled "New Orleans" and of the type cited in Hulbert—was on October 31 formally christened in the presence of President William H. Taft and some 50,000 spectators gathered on Monongahela wharf (levee) and the neighboring hillsides. The christening itself was by Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, a descendant of the original owner. The president delivered a congratulatory address at the wharf, and the "New Orleans" was accompanied on a trip several miles in extent by some sixty of the largest Ohio River packets. On Nov. 2, the little steamer began a commemorative trip to New Orleans, with about twenty passengers. She stopped at the towns enroute, for the holding of celebrations, and tied up over night; finally arriving three weeks later at the city of New Orleans, which was, in honor of the event, in gala attire.

1815, she cleared from New Orleans for Louisville, where she arrived after a trip of twenty-five days. Both the Mississippi and the Ohio were "bank-full" at the time. In an ordinary stage of water she would not, with the draft she was carrying, have been able to get above Natchez.[8]

It remained for Henry M. Shreve [9] to improve upon both the Fulton and the French patents, which had governed the equipment of the nine boats heretofore built at the Pittsburgh yards. Instead of placing the boilers and machinery in the hold, Captain Shreve decked the hold over and placed his machinery on what has since been known as the main deck. Heretofore the cylinders of all boats had been of the vertical and oscillating pattern. Captain Shreve laid his cylinders down upon solid bed-timbers, and transferred the vibration to the pitman.

The "Washington," as his boat was named, was equipped with double high-pressure engines, with cranks at right angles attached to the stern-wheel shaft at either end, so that a steady motion of the wheel was maintained, as against the halting motion of the side-wheels, driven by a single engine, where the crank turned over the dead centres.[10]

Captain Shreve also added David Prentice's invention of the cam cut-off, and by adding flues to his boilers, saved a third of his fuel. Thus equipped, the first stern-wheel boat started on her initial voyage to the Gulf. September 24, 1816, she passed over the Falls of the Ohio. There Edward Livingston examined her, noted the many improvements, and remarked to Captain Shreve: "You deserve well of your country, young man, but we shall be compelled to beat you in court if we can."

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[8] Hulbert, *Ohio River*, p. 334.

[9] Henry M. Shreve was born in New Jersey in 1785, and died at St. Louis in 1851. He invented the steam snag-boat, was owner of five out of the first fifty steamboats built for Western rivers, and was in the steamboat and keel-boat business on the Ohio and Mississippi for over forty years. He was employed by General Jackson in several hazardous enterprises, and during the battle of New Orleans served one of the field pieces which destroyed the advancing column of General Keane. He filled the post of United States superintendent of Western river improvements under the administrations of Presidents Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren.—St. Louis *Republican*, March 7, 1851.

[10] Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory*, p. 44.

The monopoly rights of Fulton, Livingston & Co. had already been taken into court by Captain Shreve. December 14, 1814, with the steamboat "Enterprise," he had entered the forbidden waters of Louisiana. Immediately upon landing at New Orleans he retained counsel and procured bail, in case of seizure, which took place the next day. Bail was entered and a suit commenced against the boat and her owners in an inferior court, where a verdict was found for the defendants. The case was then removed by a writ of error to the supreme court of the United States. Before the question was decided by this court, Captain Shreve returned to New Orleans with his new steamboat, the "Washington," which, as expected, was also seized by the Livingston company, to whom she was surrendered without making any difficulty. Upon application, however, to the court an order was obtained holding the company to bail to answer to any damages that might be sustained by the detention of the vessel. To this Livingston demurred. The company feeling the weakness of its case, and foreseeing the downfall of its colossal monopoly, made repeated overtures through its counsel and individual members of the firm to admit Captain Shreve to an equal share in all the privileges of the patent right, provided he would instruct his counsel so to arrange the business of the defense that a verdict might be found against him. The bribe was rejected with scorn, and the case fought to a finish, the court finding against the monopoly in every point. The three years litigation cost Captain Shreve a fortune; but the result opened the Mississippi River once and for all to any one who wished to embark in the carrying business on Western rivers.[11]

Having been released from durance, the "Washington" returned to Louisville, and March 12, 1817, started on her second round trip, which was accomplished in forty-one days. This successful run demonstrated the practicability of steam navigation up-stream. First to prove the success of river navigation by steam, the "Washington" was also first in the long list of explosions which were to wreck hundreds of boats and bring death

[11] E. W. Gould, *History of Navigation on the Mississippi for Fifty Years* (St. Louis, 1889), pp. 164–167; a valuable compilation, but badly arranged, its author being more accustomed to handling a steamboat wheel than a pen.

or wounds to thousands of passengers and crew. June 9, 1817, soon after leaving Marietta, she exploded her boiler, with a loss of twelve killed and as many more seriously scalded—Captain Shreve, master, and Mr. Clark, engineer, being among those wounded.[12]

Within a few months a score of shipyards were established along the Ohio and its tributaries. Pittsburgh, with its foundries and machine shops, offered the best facilities for equipping the hulls as they were turned out at the yards. Brownsville, Elizabeth, Shousetown, McKeesport, California, Belle Vernon, and Wheeling turned out boats by the score; while Marietta, Cincinnati, and Louisville engaged in the business to a great extent.

Two other improvements, credit for which I am unable definitely to assign, although the weight of evidence points to Capt. Henry Shreve as their author, completed the Western steamboat practically as it was used in the fifties, when Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota were the fields of its greatest activity. The first improvement was building a wide, light, flat-bottomed hull which would draw less than two instead of six feet of water, thus adding immensely to its adaptability to the shallow channels of Western rivers. The other was the adoption of independent engines for each side-wheel, enabling one to come ahead while the other was backing. This permitted the pilot to turn his boat in its length, as well as greatly assisting him in navigating crooked and dangerous pieces of the river.

The growth of the business was marvelous. In 1819 there were sixty-three steamers on Western waters; in 1832 there were 230; and in 1842, 450, with a total of 126,278 tons; while by 1855 no less than 800 steam vessels were in commission.[13]

Between the years 1817 and 1848 there were 233 boiler explosions, great and small, with a loss of 2,563 lives, and 2,092 seriously wounded. From 1848 to 1871 there were 66 explosions, with a loss of 3,033 lives.[14] The loss of the "Sultana," in 1865,

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[12] Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory*, p. 55.

[13] Hulbert, *Ohio River*, p. 236; Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory*, p. 45.

[14] Gould, *Navigation on Mississippi*, pp. 432–437.

For years after the war there was much discussion regarding the loss of the "Sultana", April 27, 1865. Many people, especially northern soldiers, suspected that the boat was destroyed by an explosion of gun-

near Memphis, was the most terrible of all. She was loaded with Union soldiers returning North. Of these, 1647 men so far as accounted for, lost their lives either by scalding or drowning. It was estimated at the time that the number exceeded two thousand. The remarkable decrease in the number of accidents from 1848 to 1871, as compared with those of the earlier period, is due to the more rigid inspection of boilers by the federal government; also to the greater care in granting licenses to engineers.

The pioneer steamboat upon the waters of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio was the "Zebulon M. Pike." built in 1815 by Mr. Prentice, of Henderson, Kentucky. The "Pike" made her first trip to Louisville a distance of 250 miles, in sixty-nine hours—a rate of about three and one-half miles an hour, against the current. Her hull was built on the model of a barge or keel-boat. The cabin was built inside the running-boards of the barge. In stemming a rapid current the crew reinforced the steam power by getting out their setting-poles and pushing her against the stream as in keel-boat navigation. The boat was driven by a low-pressure engine, with a gallows-frame walking-beam. The side wheels had no wheel-houses. She had but one smoke-stack and used wood for fuel.

Her first trip from Louisville to St. Louis consumed six weeks. She ran only in daylight, lying at the bank wherever night overtook her, in order to replenish her stock of fuel. Her coming to St. Louis had been announced by an overland mail from Louis-

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powder concealed in blocks of coal placed in the boat's fuel supply by some one inimical to the Union cause. A letter from Capt. Charles H. Patten, a veteran river engineer, now of Fort Madison, Iowa, and also a veteran soldier, who was stationed at Memphis in April 1865, seems definitely to settle the question. He says that he went on board the "Sultana" to see Lemuel Wilson, one of the engineers, as the boat lay at Memphis. Wilson told Patten that the boilers were in bad condition, and that before taking on passengers at Vicksburg they had patched the boilers as well as possible for the trip North. It would thus appear that the explosion was due to defective boilers, and not to the malice of Confederate sympathizers. Patten does not say in his letter whether his friend Wilson was among the lost or not. There were on the boat 70 cabin passengers, 1866 paroled prisoners (Union), and a crew of 85, of which number 1647 were lost.

ville. The first notice of the expected arrival of the "Pike" says:[15]

A steamboat is expected here tomorrow from Louisville. There is no doubt but what we shall have regular connection [with Louisville] or at least with the mouth of the Ohio, by a steam packet.

August 2, 1817, the following advertisement appeared in the same newspaper:

The steamboat "Pike" will be ready to take in freight to-morrow for Louisville, or any town on the Ohio. She will sail for Louisville on Monday, the 4th of August, from 10 to 12 o'clock A. M. For freight or passage apply on board. JACOB READ, Master.

The first step in conquering the upper Mississippi was thus taken. The keel-boat, however, still ruled above St. Louis.

During May, 1819, the steamboat "Independence" left St. Louis for Franklin, on the Missouri River, from whence she returned thirteen days later. Other boats followed the same year. June 9, of that year, Captain Hewes of the "St. Louis" gave an excursion to the mouth of the Missouri. The newspaper report thereof declares that "Captain Hewes has gratified the citizens of St. Louis with a sail to the mouth of the Missouri. The company on board was large and genteel, and the entertainment very elegant."[16]

The first mention of regular traffic on the upper river appears in a St. Louis newspaper of April 19, 1822:[17]

During the past week our wharf has exhibited a greater show of business than we recollect ever to have seen, and the number of steam and other boats arriving and departing has been unprecedented. The immense trade which has opened between this place and Fever River, Illinois, at the present time, employs, besides a number of keel-boats, six steamboats, to-wit: the "Indiana," "Shamrock," "Hamilton," "Muskingum," and "Mechanic." The "Indiana" and "Shamrock," on

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[15] Missouri *Gazette*, July 14, 1817.

[16] *Ibid*, June 9, 1819.

[17] St. Louis *Republican*, cited in Gould, *Navigation on Mississippi*, p. 116. It would be gratifying had the names of the masters of these first boats been given. But one of these boats, the "Indiana," is mentioned in the list compiled by the present writer; and that at a much later date than above cited.—See Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, p. 274.

their return trip have been deeply freighted with lead, and several keel-boats likewise have arrived laden with the same article. Judging from the thousands of people who have gone to make their fortunes at the lead mines this spring, we should suppose that the quantity of lead produced this year would be ten-fold greater than heretofore.

The next upper river steamboat was the "Virginia," Captain Crawford, known to have been at Fort Snelling May 10, 1823. All authorities agree upon this; but upon those of the next ten years there is a diversity of opinion. Rev. E. D. Neill, in his "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840," mentions fifteen boats as having arrived at that fort, but gives the dates for but three. Following is Neill's list, as amended by the late Capt. Russell Blakeley of St. Paul and by the writer hereof:[18]

1. "Virginia," Captain Crawford, May 10, 1823. Among her passengers were Major Biddle and Lieut. John Russell, of the Army, Major Taliaferro, United States Indian Agent, and Count Giacomo C. Beltrami, an expatriated Italian of noble family.[19]

2. "Neiville." Nothing more known of this boat.

3. "Rufus Putnam," Capt. David G. Bates, arrived April 5, 1825. Four weeks later she made a second trip with goods for the Columbia Trading Company, at Land's End, on the Minnesota River, where the company's post was located.

4. "Mandan." Boat owned by American Fur Company, and probably

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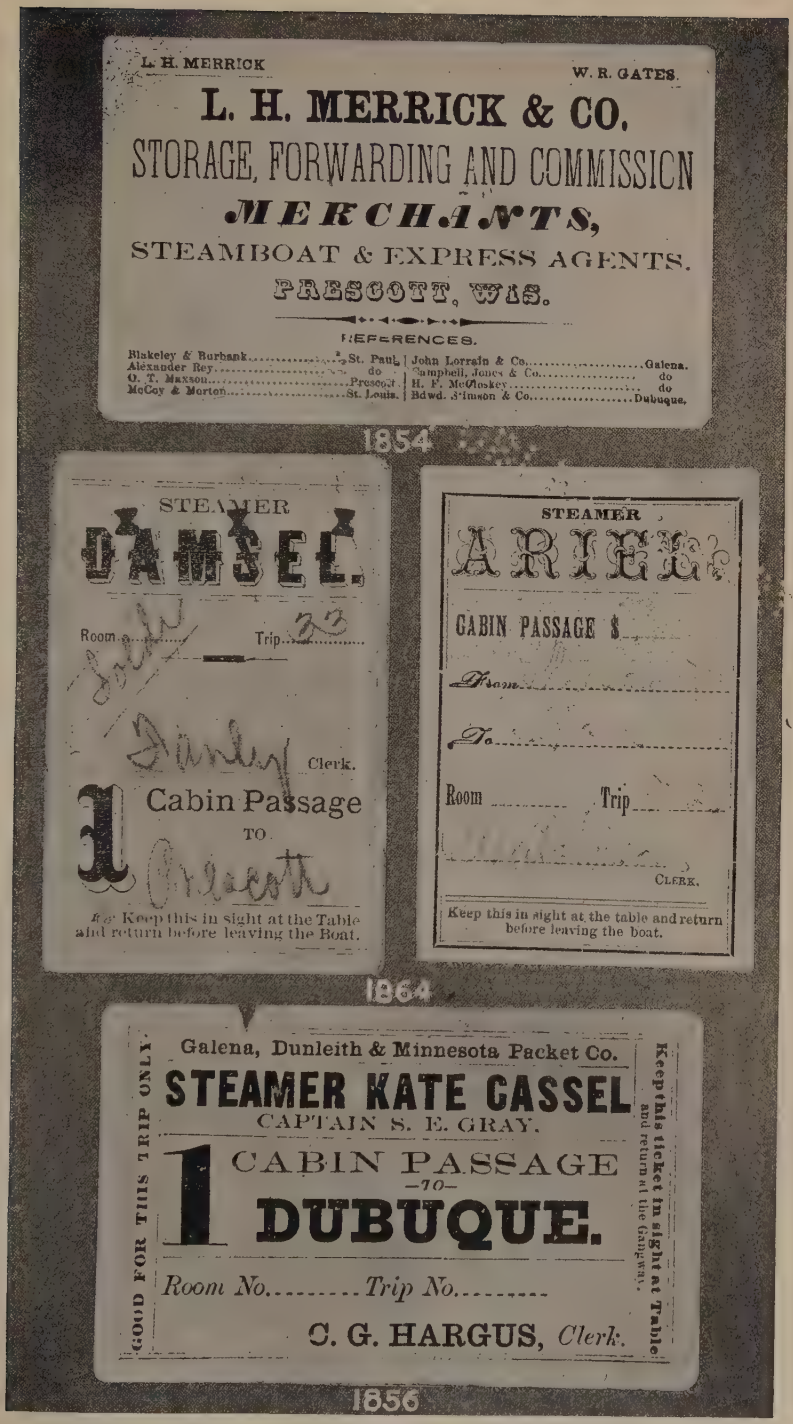
[18] *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 102–117; viii, pp. 376–378; Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, p. xxx.

[19] Thomas Biddle Jr. was born in Pennsylvania, from which state he was appointed to the army as captain of infantry April 9, 1812, transferred to 2nd artillery July 6, 1812; transferred to artillery corps May 17, 1815; transferred to rifle regiment, May, 1820. He was major and paymaster August 7, 1820; killed in a duel, August 29, 1831. Brevet major August 15, 1814, for gallant defense of Fort Erie.

John B. F. Russell was born in Massachusetts, from which state he was appointed to the army. Second lieutenant light artillery, July 24, 1818; transferred to infantry June 1, 1821; first lieutenant Nov. 1, 1821. He served as captain and assistant quartermaster, March 14, 1828–October 13, 1830. Becoming captain April 23, 1830, he resigned June 22, 1837.

Maj. Laurence Taliaferro was a Virginian by birth, 1794; he enlisted



From Merrick's *Old Times on the Mississippi.* Courtesy of A. H. Clark Co.

FACSIMILES OF EARLY BUSINESS CARD AND TICKETS

loaded with their supplies. The master's name is not given. Capt. Joseph La Barge was in the employ of the American Fur Company at this time, and may have been in command. The boat arrived at the fort prior to 1827; she was a side-wheeler; was snagged and sunk in Missouri River in the early forties, Capt. Phil Hanna being in command at the time.

5. "Indiana." Arrived at fort prior to 1827. In Galena trade 1828, Captain Fay commanding.

6. "Lawrence." Arrived May 2, 1826. Captain's name not given. Not mentioned elsewhere.

7. "Sciota." Not mentioned elsewhere.

8. "Eclipse." Not mentioned elsewhere.

9. "Josephine." At Fort Snelling 1827, Capt. J. Clark commanding. Captain Clark appears the next season in command of "Missouri Fulton," in the Galena trade, and also as captain of "Josephine," and again in 1829 commanding "Josephine."

10. "Missouri Fulton." Captain Culver, first part of season; later, Capt. J. Clark. Arrived again May 8, 1836, Capt. Orrin Smith. In Galena and St. Peter's trade, 1837, Capt. Orrin Smith.

11. "Red Rover." Capt. Joseph Throckmorton. In Galena and St. Peter's trade, 1828–30.

12. "Black Rover." Not mentioned elsewhere.

13. "Warrior." Built in 1832 by Capt. Joseph Throckmorton. Arrived at the fort June 24, 1835 with supplies for the garrison, and a pleasure party. Among the passengers were Captain Day and Lieutenant Beech of the army, Catlin, the artist, and his wife, Gen. George W. Jones, J. Farnsworth, Mrs. Felix St. Vrain, Miss Farnsworth, Miss Crowe, Miss Johnson, and others. On July 16 the "Warrior" was again at the fort.

14. "Enterprise." Small stern-wheel boat. At the fort early in the

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in the army during the War of 1812-15, and at its close remained in service until 1819 when he was appointed Indian agent at St. Peter's, where he remained for twenty-one years. In 1840 he retired to his home in Bedford, Pa., where he was military storekeeper 1857-63, and where he died Jan. 22, 1871.

Count Giacomo C. Beltrami, born in Bergamo, Italy, 1779, was banished in 1821 on account of political intrigue. He came to America, and made his way to St. Louis, where he became imbued with the desire to find the source of the Mississippi, and he was starting upon this expedition when we find him listed as a passenger on the first steamboat to reach Fort Snelling.

season of 1832, and again on June 27, 1832. Sunk at the head of Enterprise Island, 1843.

15. "Volant." Not mentioned elsewhere.

Other boats, under charter by the federal government, made trips to the fort annually up to 1842, or even later; but as there was as yet no population to feed nor products to export, there were no boats engaged in independent traffic before this date above Galena, Cassville, and Helena. At these points the mines furnished a return cargo of lead to the steamboats bringing in the necessaries of civilization for the rapidly-increasing mining population. Impetus given by the opening to settlement of northern Wisconsin, and the rise of lumbering interests on the Black, Chippewa, and St. Croix rivers caused a rapid growth in steamboating above the mouth of the Wisconsin. It reached its culmination in 1858, during the rush of settlers to the newly-opened lands and growing settlements of Minnesota.

Among the earliest to engage in this regular steamboat trade on the upper river was Count Agoston Haraszthy, a refugee from political oppression in the old world, then dwelling at Sauk City on Wisconsin River.[20]

The "Rock River" was a small boat, built in 1843 at Mazatlan, Illinois. She was owned by Haraszthy and Bryant of Sauk City; and commanded by the former with his compatriot, Edmond Rentdorff, as clerk. The name of the engineer is not given; the captain probably did his own piloting. This boat during the season of 1843 made three trips from St. Louis to St. Peter's (now known as Mendota, Minnesota), and two trips from St. Louis to Fort Winnebago (at Portage, Wisconsin). She was frozen in at Prairie du Chien in November of that year, and lay there during the winter, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the crew to extricate her and sail her to her home port at Sauk City. The next season she ran to Fort Snelling with supplies and troops, and did a general freighting and passenger business on the upper river—the first boat regularly in that trade. She was frozen in at Wacouta, Minnesota, at the head of Lake Pepin, in the fall of 1844, and lay there during the winter. In the

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[20] See sketch by Verne Seth Pease in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, 1906, pp. 224–245.

From Merrick's *Old Times on the Mississippi.* Courtesy of A. H. Clark Co.

STEAMER "MILWAUKEE," 1856; 550 TONS

From Merrick's *Old Times on the Mississippi.* Courtesy of A. H. Clark Co.

STEAMER "WAR EAGLE," 1852; 296 TONS

spring she went south to New Orleans and did not again appear in the North, being sold to run on the slack-water bayous of the lower river, with the current of which she was better able to cope than with the swifter water of the upper Mississippi.

The names of a few men appear pre-eminent in the history of navigation on the upper Mississippi. Among these were the Harris Brothers of Galena, whose given names were Daniel Smith, Robert Scribe, Martin Keeler, James Meeker, and Jackson respectively. Daniel Smith—or "Smith" Harris, as he was called the length of the river—was the eldest and best known. These five were the sons of James and Abigail Bathrick Harris.[21] Daniel Smith Harris came to Galena on the keel-boat "Colonel Bumford," arriving in June, 1823. The next three brothers came from Cincinnati in the spring of 1824. Jackson was born at Galena in 1828. Two of the brothers, Robert S. and Martin K., became engineers; Daniel Smith was interested in lead-mining. In 1832 the brothers built at Galena their first boat, the "Jo Daviess," the machinery for which had been picked by Robert Scribe Harris the engineer, from a scrap-heap in Cincinnati. Their further investments are shown in the register, *post*.

Next in importance to the Harris Brothers was Joseph Throckmorton. His work on the upper Mississippi began in 1828, four years before the Harrises launched their first boat at Galena; and ended in 1848, when he transferred his business to the Missouri. During these twenty years he built and commanded nine steamboats. He was the best-known man on the upper river, his boats being engaged in transporting troops and supplies from St. Louis to the several United States forts located between Rock Island and Fort Snelling; also to Fort Winnebago, on the Wisconsin. One of his boats, the "Warrior," took part in August, 1832, in the battle of Bad Axe, where she rendered very active and efficient service.[22] It is to be regretted that more is not known of

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[21] James Harris was born in Connecticut, Oct. 14, 1777; his wife was a native of Delaware County, N. Y., Mar. 24, 1782.

[22] The following extract from the report of Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, commanding United States army, relates the part taken by Captain Throckmorton, with his boat, the "Warrior:"

On information being received by General Atkinson that the Indians had quitted the swamps in the neighborhood of the Four Lakes, and moved towards the Mississippi, he despatched instructions to the com-

Throckmorton's life. The writer has been unable to find any trace of his descendants, or any contemporary who knew his history. He died poor in 1872 at St. Louis, after having won for himself several competencies from the profits of his business, only to lose all through the destruction of his boats by snags and fire. He was peculiarly unfortunate in this respect, even at a time when such losses were expected to befall any boat within four years from its launching.

The Atchison brothers, George W., Joseph, and Pierce, were also prominent in steamboat circles during the forties and fifties. They were Kentuckians, coming to the upper river from the Ohio.[23] Joseph died in 1850 of cholera, on board his boat, the "Highland Mary." This disease raged that season the length of the river, claiming hundreds of victims, principally among the deck passengers. The dead were taken ashore and buried in shallow graves on the islands, from which they were torn at the first "rise" of the river and seen no more. The remaining Atchison brothers transferred their business to the Missouri soon after this calamity, taking the "Highland Mary" with them.

Another trio of brothers very active in upper river affairs were the Lodwicks—Kennedy, M. W., and Preston, who commanded

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manding officer at Prairie du Chien to take measures to intercept them, should they attempt to descend the Ouisconsin, or cross the Mississippi. In consequence of these instructions, a guard and an armed flatboat were stationed on the Ouisconsin about twenty-five miles from its junction with the Mississippi, by which means a number of those who escaped from the engagement on the Ouisconsin were killed or captured. A steamboat in the employ of the Quartermaster's Department, with a field-piece, and manned with about twenty men, was despatched up the Mississippi [from Fort Crawford] to watch the motions of the Indians; and on the 1st of August, discovered a large body of them on the left bank making preparations to cross the river. The Indians at first attempted to deceive our party by declaring themselves to be Winnebagoes, and displaying white flags, at the same time inviting them to land. But the officer in command being aware of their intentions, fired upon them, and killed about twenty five of their number. The fire was smartly returned by the Indians, but without effect. This circumstance fortunately checked the Indians in their attempt to cross the river, and led to the action of 2nd of August.—22nd Cong., 2nd sess., *Exec. Docs.*, i, no. 2, p. 60.

The "Warrior" carried the marks of the volleys fired by the Indians, as long as she was in service on the river.

[23] They are said to have been brothers of David R. Atchison, senator from Missouri, who gave name to the town in Kansas.

From Merrick's *Old Times on the Mississippi.*

Courtesy of A. H. Clark Co.

VIEW OF BAD AXE (NOW GENOA), WISCONSIN

Scene of the last battle fought by Chief Black Hawk against the federal government

many of the finest boats in the Minnesota Packet Company's fleet during the whole of its existence, being themselves largely interested either as owners of boats or stockholders in the corporation.

As to the general character of the men who officered the early steamboats, judgment varies according to different standards. An editorial in the Prescott *Paraclete* of June 15, 1855, favors them with the following depreciation:

> **Human life is thought little of by the men on the river, and human comfort, convenience, or respect is disregarded altogether. In most cases of this kind [anent the drowning of a young man from the "City Belle" on her up-trip a few days before, of which the editor was a witness], there is little feeling or concern expressed by steamboat officers at the loss of passengers, especially if it be a steerage [deck] passenger—as little, in fact, as there would be at losing overboard a boy's hat or a lady's handkerchief. The river is navigated, with but few exceptions, by a class of lowbred, ungentlemanly, and sometimes ruffianly vagabonds, who seldom, if ever, treat a person with as much respect as a well-bred hound deserves. This we know from personal observation on the best boats on the river.**

Capt. Charles J. Allen, corps of engineers, U. S. A., in his report for the year 1866, on the work of the River Improvement Association, gives it as his opinion that "most of the river pilots are possessed of but little knowledge beyond that required in turning the wheel."

The writer knew, personally, two of the officers of the "City Belle" at the time when the young man was lost from the boat—Capt. Kennedy Lodwick and Chief Clerk Edward V. Dawley. Both were educated gentlemen, and I presume as kind-hearted as any business men in any other line of endeavor. I also knew, personally, the writer of the editorial. He was a young man just out of Yale, who had never seen anything more strenuous in the way of life than a cane-rush on the campus. He did not realize that a man who fell overboard in front of the wheel on a side-wheel boat, was in most cases never seen again. Any attempt to recover his body would be only a loss of time to the hundreds of passengers who were hastening to their new homes in the North, and would be entirely ineffectual in any event. He also made the mistake of gauging the breeding and personal deportment of Mississippi River captains by the standards of New England

civilization; just as Captain Allen made the mistake of judging the educational attainments of the river pilots by the standards of West Point.

One of the prime recommendations of either a clerk or a captain on the river was, that he should have a gentlemanly address and be able to make himself agreeable to his passengers. In most cases, they fully met the requirement. That they had kind hearts is evidenced by such incidents as the landing of Capt. Russell Blakeley's steamer at an out-of-the-way point, and the sending of a boy up the bluff to get a pitcher of fresh milk for a sick baby; or the holding of Capt. William H. Gabbert's boat for many hours for a woman whose child was born during the interval. The courage shown by Capt. W. H. Laughton,[24] who, during his forty or more years on the river, jumped overboard and saved from drowning nine persons; or, the conscientious scruples of Capt. Orrin Smith, who would not run his steamboat on Sunday, but tied up at midnight Saturday and remained at the bank until midnight Sunday, always holding a meeting on board his boat on Sunday morning. Such instances show that the river men had as many ideas of morality and kindness as their contemporaries.

The following compilation gives the names, and so far as obtainable the official rating, of some of the men who helped to open up the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, from 1823 to 1870, together with the name of the boat to which each was attached, and the date of such service. The compilers regret that despite all their efforts their list is not more complete.

Officers on the Upper Mississippi, 1823–70

Able, Dan. 1847 and 1850 capt. "Anthony Wayne;" 1848 capt. "Ocean Wave," at St. Paul.

Adair, J. S. July 20, 1858 clk. "Falls City," at La Crosse.

Ainsworth, J. C. 1846–48 capt. "Iron City," at St. Paul.

Ainsworth, S. March 25, 1848 clk. "Iron City," at St. Paul.

Alford, Pliny A. 1854 capt. "Grey Cloud;" 1857 capt. "White Cloud;" 1858 capt. "W. H. Denny;" 1858–62 capt. "Northerner;" is buried at Hamburg, Ill., on a high hill overlooking the river.

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[24] He died in 1883 at Platteville.

Allen, —. 1857 capt. "Harmonia," at St. Paul.

Allen, J. T. 1845 clk. "Potosi," at Burlington.

Allen, M. S. 1867 clk. "Bannock City;" after leaving river was sheriff of Jackson County, Iowa until his death at Sabula, Iowa.

Allendorff, Gus. 1866 engr. "Northern Light" when she sunk in Coon Slough.

Allen, L. C. Upper river pilot—one of the best. Is now (1911) living at ease on his 300-acre farm opposite Dutchman's Island, above Fort Madison, Iowa.

Altea, William. July 21, 1843 capt. "Mendota," at Dubuque.

Anderson, Tom F. Aug. 27, 1845 capt. "Osprey," at Burlington.

Andrews, —. 1857 capt. "Ocean Wave," at St. Paul.

Andrews, Edward. Engr.

Andrews, Lee. Engr.

Andrews, Lemuel. Built "Clarion" from wreck of "Brazil," sunk by ice near Davenport, 1841; capt. lived at Davenport.

Armstrong, James. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Armstrong, Joseph. 1850 pilot "Yankee," Capt. M. K. Harris; 1854 pilot "Galena," Capt. Russell Blakeley; April 5, 1855 died at his wheel on "Luella" while crossing Beef Slough bar.

Arnold, John P. Owner, capt., and pilot on Illinois River in the 40's. Later, pilot from St. Louis to Galena; 1852 learned river to St. Paul on "Nominee," Capt. Orrin Smith; 1853–54 pilot "Nominee;" 1855–56 pilot "Fanny Harris," Capt. Jones Worden; 1857-60 pilot "Key City." In 1861 went South, being in government service as capt. and pilot of transports till close of war; in Missouri River trade two seasons; capt. of tow-boats for several years in St. Louis and New Orleans barge line; died Memphis, 1883. One of the best pilots on upper river.

Artas, J. Clerk.

Arthur, James. 1841 clk.

Asbury, D. R. Capt. "Golden Eagle" when she burned on Missouri River below mouth of Quiver; died on board his boat of cholera, 1850; buried at Galena, Ill.

Atchison, George W. 1836 capt. "Dubuque," at Dubuque; 1839 capt. "Glaucus;" 1842 capt. "Amaranth." During his river service he built and owned, wholly or in part, "Irene," "Ione," "Glaucus," "Governor Dodge," "Amaranth," and "Missouri Belle."

Atchison, Joseph. 1845–47 capt. and owner "Lynx;" 1848–50 capt. and owner "Highland Mary;" died 1850 of cholera, on board his boat.

Atchison, Mark. 1842 capt. "Ohio," at Galena.

Atchison, Pierce. 1845 capt. "Fortune;" 1855 capt. "Golden Era;" died at St. Louis, 1855 or 1856.

Atchison, W. H. 1847 capt. "Kentucky," at Dubuque.

Austin, E. P. Clerk.

Aymond, F. 1859 capt. "Jeanette Roberts," in Minnesota River trade.

Bab, E. H. 1846 on "Uncle Toby," at Savanna.

Bacon, Charles. 1848 on "Edward Bates," at Burlington.

Baldwin, —. 1849 capt. "Prairie State; 1855 capt. "Fire Canoe."

Ball, J. J. F. 1856–57 clk. "War Eagle," at La Crosse.

Ball, S. Oct. 9, 1846 clk. "Bridgewater," at Savanna.

Barger, —. 1845 clk. "Lynx;" 1846-48 capt. "Red Wing;" 1853 capt. "G. W. Sparhawk."

Barnard, George. May 14, 1843 capt. "Boreas" at Burlington.

Barnard, James. Sept. 11, 1843 on "Boreas" at Burlington.

Barnes, Charles L. Steamboat agent; born 1827 in Canton, N. Y.; 1855 came to Hastings, Minn., agent for Minnesota Packet Company until 1857; removed to Prescott where till his death June 19, 1903, was agent for all the principal steamboat companies. He seldom missed meeting an incoming boat, day or night, for forty-five years; it was asserted on the river that pilots always "held on" his tall silk hat when making a landing at Prescott.

Barry, —. 1857 capt. "A. G. Mason" at St. Paul.

Barthona, A. G. 1819 on keel-boat; 1827 on "Trenton;" 1838 founder of packet line St. Louis and Keokuk; 1854 clk. "Wisconsin."

Bartlett, R. F. May 14, 1848 on "Lucy Bertram" at Dubuque.

Bates, David G. Born in Virginia; came to Galena in 1819 on a keel-boat with a crew of Frenchmen; 1822 engaged in Indian trade and smelting at Dubuque; 1824 bought at St. Louis "Rufus Putnam;" 1825 to Fort Snelling; later built "Galena," on which he made the trip to Fort Snelling in 1828; Capt. Russell Blakeley says that "he was a very genial gentleman;" died at Galena, Nov. 22, 1850, aged 58 years; buried in the old cemetery.

Bates, Walter. Capt. and owner "Adelia," which he sold in April 1857 to Capt. William Gillette of Dubuque.

Beasley, Benjamin F. Engr. "Bannock City" at Galena.

Beebe, Edward H. 1847–49, capt. "Dubuque" at Galena.

Beedle, Hiram. 1852–53 pilot "Enterprise," Capt. W. H. Gabbert, on Wisconsin River; 1859 pilot "Grey Eagle" and "Northern Light;" 1860–61 pilot "Northern Light;" died at Bellevue, Ia.

Beedle, Hiram Jr. Pilot several years; now boating on the Yukon, Alaska.

Bell, Edwin. 1859 capt. "Anson Northrup;" 1861–63 capt. "Pomeroy," both in Minnesota River trade.

Belt, William S. 1848 capt. "Edward Bates" at Burlington.

Berdeau, J. F. June 13, 1843 clk. "Rosalie" at Burlington.

Berger, Jacob. Learned his trade with "Billy" Hamilton; ran many years on river; 1911 chief engr. Davenport ferry.

Bersie, Hiram. 1838 capt. "Irene;" 1844-45 capt. and part owner "St. Croix;" 1846-48, capt. and owner "Bon Accord;" after leaving river lived at Buffalo, Ill., where he died in 1859.

Bert, Thomas H. Sept. 1, 1843 clk. "Iowa" at Dubuque.

Biesong, Andrae. Old-time raft pilot; lived and died at Prairie du Chien.

Bigelow, Volney A. Owner and capt. "Alfred Toll;" in the rafting business for several years; later built and commanded "Jessie B" La Crosse. Known as one of the best raft-towing pilots on the river; was in partnership with Lafayette Holmes, of La Crosse; together they built and ran as rafter "Quickstep;" died April 16, 1904, at La Crosse; his fine collection of steamboat pictures now in possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Bill, E. C. Steamboat builder, born in Connecticut 1821; early emigrated to Ohio; employed on Great Lakes sailing vessels; 1855 emigrated to Indiana and became lumberman. About 1866 moved to Read's Landing, Minn.; 1867–68 built "Buckeye" used for rafting logs and lumber; later capt. "Jessie Bill," a small stern-wheeler named for his granddaughter. During his later years agent at Winona for the Diamond Jo Line; died at that place, Oct. 15, 1902.

Bill, Fred A. Son of preceding. 1868–71 clk. "Buckeye;" later clk. "Dakota," on Red River of the North, between Moorhead, Minn., and Winnipeg, Canada, Capt. Jerry Webber; 1873 clk. "Imperial," of Diamond Jo Line; 1874 clk. "Ida Fulton;" 1875–80, clk. "Josie" and "Libbie Conger," with short periods on "Arkansas," "Diamond Jo," "Tidal Wave;" 1880–93 at Dubuque as general passenger and freight agent Diamond Jo Company; is living, 1911, at Minneapolis.

Bipell, James L. 1850 pilot "Bon Accord," that later sunk above Mundy's Landing on the Missouri.

Bipette, Paul. 1815-20 keel-boatman; 1820 pilot "Oben C. Pike."

Bisbee, —. April 15, 1868 capt. "Ida Fulton," at McGregor, Iowa.

Bissell, James. 1852-54 capt. "New St. Paul;" 1857-58 capt. "J. Bissell."

Black, James T. 1859–62 pilot "Fanny Harris," "Key City," "Golden Era," and other boats of the line; in Minnesota Packet Company; 1862 went down river and was pilot "Eugene Avery," owned by Eugene Avery, sutler of the 9th Iowa Infantry, one of the first boats to go in Yazoo Pass, conveying troops in the rear of Vicksburg; 1868 died at Cairo, Ill.

Blair, Walter A. Successful steamboatman, now living (1911) at Davenport, Iowa; learned the river under George Tromley, pilot;

large owner in, and general manager of Northern Steamboat line, of which ex-Gov. S. R. Van Sant, of St. Paul, is president; season of 1911 was captain of side-wheel packet "Morning Star," between Davenport and St. Paul.

Blaisdell, Nathan. 1856 Engr. "Kate Cassell" lived at Prescott, Wis.

Blaisdell, William A. Engr.

Blake, W. H. 1857 capt. "James Lyon;" capt. and owner "Lake City;" established the St. Louis & Memphis Packet Co.

Blakeley, Russell. 1847 clk. "Argo;" 1848 clk. "Dr. Franklin;" 1852 capt. "Dr. Franklin;" 1853 capt. "Nominee;" 1855 capt. "Galena;" 1856 appointed general agent of Minnesota Packet Co. at Dunleith, a position which he held for several years; he wrote a very interesting and valuable paper on the "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," which was published as part 3, vol. viii, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, April 1, 1898; died at his home in St. Paul about 1902.

Blakeley, W. 1844 clk. "Western Belle," at Burlington.

Blakesley, Lud. Twin brother of Willis Blakesley, pilot for many years before the war; lived at Quincy, Ill., where he died.

Blakesley, Willis. Pilot for many years before the war; 1859 pilot "Northerner" in her great race with the "Key City" for the championship of the upper river, from Stillwater to Prescott, which was won by a length by the "Key City;" 1877 pilot "Minneapolis;" lived at Quincy, Ill., where he died.

Blanchard, W. H. Secretary and treasurer of the Minnesota Packet Company at Dunleith, Ill., for several years.

Blish, George C. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1853 on "Dr. Franklin;" 1858 chief clk. "Galena," when she burned at Red Wing landing; reported as living, but place not stated.

Bloomer, Edward. Clerk.

Blopond, C. D. On "Archer," at Burlington.

Boggs, William. Many years engr. on Mississippi and St. Croix rivers; 1858 engr. "H. S. Allen;" lived at Prescott, Wis.

Boland, James. Capt. in Diamond Jo Line; 1881 capt. "Mary Morton;" later capt. "Pittsburgh."

Boland, William. 1859 began river life as deck-hand on "Northern Light," in company with Dan Hall, John Killeen, and Harry Leitch; died on Missouri River.

Boon, B. H. 1843 clk. "Boreas," at Galena.

Bouchea, Peter F. Early raft pilot, settled at site of Hudson; married Indian woman; died at Hudson.

Bowen, C. J. 1844 clk. "Waverly," at Davenport.

Bowers, E. E. April 26, 1859 clk. "General Pike," at La Crosse.

Bowman, Robert. Dec. 3, 1856 mate "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Boyce, Samuel. Aug. 26, 1853 clk. "Dr. Franklin," at La Crosse; May 1854 clk. "Galena;" 1856 capt. "Luella."

Boyd, J. F. 1855 capt. "Ben Bolt."

Brady, —. 1857 capt. "Editor."

Brassau, George. Pilot and captain for many years in rafting trade between Stillwater and St. Louis; now (1911) living in retirement at Stillwater, Minn.

Brickle, —. 1857 capt. "La Crosse."

Brierley, F. H. 1840 clk. "Chippewa."

Briggs, —. July 20, 1836 capt. "Olive Branch," at Dubuque.

Briggs, William. 1857 engr. "Grey Eagle."

Brisbois, William M. 1864 cub pilot "Ocean Wave;" ran for many years on Northern and Diamond Jo lines; 1911 living at Prairie du Chien, aged 72 years.

Brooks, John. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company; 1853 on "Nominee," at La Crosse; 1854 capt. "Admiral;" 1855 clk. "Admiral; with E. V. Holcomb and others bought the "Admiral," and sent her up the Missouri, where in 1856 she was snagged and sunk; raised and ran for several years thereafter on the Missouri.

Brooks, Leonard T. 1841, 1843 clk. "Rosalie."

Brown, L. 1855-59 capt. and owner "Wenona," on Minnesota and St. Croix rivers.

Brown, Lewis. Steamboat clk.; born in Vermont, May 12, 1833; came to Wisconsin in 1852, and settled in Hudson; entered river service about 1861, retired in 1868; clk. "Ida Fulton," "Bannock City," and other boats of the Diamond Jo Line; died Feb. 22, 1869, at Lawrence, Kans. His sister, Mrs. A. Comebacker, is living at Hudson, 1911.

Brown, Sherman. Pilot in Diamond Jo Line; 1877 pilot "Minneapolis;" was in pilot house of "Libbie Conger" when Andrew Coleman dropped dead at his wheel on the upper rapids, taking the wheel as Coleman fell; died at Pleasant Hill, Ill., about five miles inland from opposite Louisiana, Mo.

Bryant, —. 1856-57 chief clk. "Mansfield."

Bryson, Alonzo. Former pilot and capt.; living (April, 1911) at Davenport.

Buffington, G. A. 1859 capt. and owner "Chippewa," running between Read's Landing, Minn., and Eau Claire.

Buford, L. D. Sept. 14, 1851 clk. "Excelsior."

Buford, Thomas J. 1861 capt. "Metropolitan;" later in season, "Henry Clay;" afterwards supt. of Northern Line, with headquarters at St. Louis; his home was at Rock Island, where he died.

Buisson, Joseph. Raft and steamboat pilot on upper river for many

years. Is living (1911) at Wabasha, Minn., engaged in writing a history of his experiences on the river.

Bunk, R. C. June 28, 1848 clk. "Lucy Bertram."

Burdeau, I. F. June 13, 1843 clk. "Rosalie," at Burlington.

Burke, William. 1857 capt. "Montauk." Commenced as deck-hand, then mate, and later captain of many boats of the Davidson White Collar Line. After Davidson retired, Burke went into the Diamond Jo Line, and is now (1911) capt. "Dubuque," of the Streckfus Line, successor of the Diamond Jo. Captain Burke has been very successful; his home is in St. Louis.

Burnham, O. J. June 4, 1841 clk. "Eliza."

Burns, Thomas. Born Boston, 1836; came to Galena 1842; at age of 21 licensed as pilot between Galena and St. Paul, in Minnesota Packet Company; on "War Eagle," "Key City," "Itasca," "Fanny Harris," "Kate Cassell," and many other boats; 1861 raised a company for 45th Illinois Infantry; was at capture of Forts Henry and Donelson; discharged for disability; went back to piloting until 1888, when he was appointed by President Cleveland local inspector of steamboats at Galena; 1895 died in office, and is buried at Galena.

Butler, William. 1863 capt. "G. H. Wilson," at La Crosse.

Byrne, Joseph F. April, 1859 clk. "Pembina," at McGregor.

Cahalin, Edward. 1844 pilot "St. Croix;" 1856 pilot "Brazil," and later in season "Adelia;" uncle of William Kelly, of St. Louis.

Campbell, Benjamin H. One of the Campbell Brothers, of Galena, steamboat owners and wholesale grocers 1850-60; 1852 built "Ben Campbell;" largely interested in Minnesota Packet Company.

Campbell, George W. Firm of Campbell, Jones & Co., wholesale grocers, Galena; stockholder in Minnesota Packet Company; died in Chicago, 1882.

Campbell, Iran R. 1819 on keel-boat "Traveller."

Campbell, James W. 1857-61 capt. "Henry Clay;" in spring of 1861, towed barge of war material from Fort Snelling to St. Louis; barge struck island at head of Coon Slough and sunk, cargo being a total loss; died at Fort Madison, Iowa, 1909. More than 50 years on river.

Cameron, —. May 18, 1836 capt. "Quincy," at Dubuque.

Carlton, E. 1857 clk. "Envoy."

Carlyle, —. 1828 capt. "Red Rover."

Carran, A. 1852 clk. "Audubon."

Carroll, Charles D. Clerk in early days; living at St. Louis 1909.

Carroll, James H. Pilot for many years in the Davidson Line; pilot on lighthouse tender "Lily;" died in Chicago.

Carver, J. L. April 6, 1877 engr. "Diamond Jo."

Casey, —. 1857 clk. "Saracen."

Chamberlain, Clarence A. Clerk; died at Eau Claire, Feb. 17, 1911, aged 55.

Chambers, Ludlow. 1847 capt. "Monona."

Champlin, A. T. 1854 capt. "Navigator;" 1857 capt. "City Belle."

Cheek, U. Clerk.

Clark, J. 1827 capt. "Josephine;" 1828 capt. "Missouri Fulton;" 1828-29 capt. "Josephine;" owned a fine farm at Buffalo, Ill., where he lived winters, and where he died.

Clark, Warren L. Brother of preceding; bought the "Ben Campbell" from Minnesota Packet Company; it was soon after burned at Clark's Landing, near Buffalo, Ill.

Clifford, A. A. 1864 clk. "Island City."

Clifford, Ray P. 1831 clk "Astoria."

Cline, —. 1848 capt. "Odd Fellow."

Clune, Steve. 1850-60 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company; living at Galena, 1861.

Cochrane, John. 1854 clk. "Galena;" 1856 clk. "Ocean Wave;" 1858 clk. "Milwaukee;" 1860-61 capt. "Milwaukee;" 1863 capt. "Northern Belle."

Coffin, Charles A. 1857–58 clk. "War Eagle."

Cole, George B. 1835 capt. "Dubuque;" 1836 capt. "Palmyra," at Fort Snelling; 1845–46 capt. "Uncle Toby."

Coleman, Andrew. For many years rapids pilot, stationed at Davenport to take boats over upper rapids; 1851 pilot "Mary C.;" died at his wheel on "Libbie Conger," going into Moline Chain, on upper rapids.

Coleman, James. Brother of preceding; for many years before the war pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; in Northern Line Company after war; lived at Davenport.

Comstock, M. C. Capt. before war; lived at Galena.

Conager, William. Dec. 3, 1856 mate "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Condler, J. July 26, 1853 clk. "Excelsior," at La Crosse.

Conger, Ben A. 1836 on "Laclede;" later clk. in Northern Line; April 6, 1877 capt. of "Diamond Jo;" was living in 1909.

Connelly, P. 1842 clk. "Amaranth;" 1845 capt. "Galena."

Connelly, Thomas. Engr. in Minn. Packet Co.; later in Diamond Jo line.

Conner, Thomas D. 1856 capt. "Lady Franklin" early in season, later yielding command to Kennedy Lodwick; 1861 agent of Minnesota Packet Company at Galena.

Connolly, M. April 12, 1832 clk. "Don."

Conway, William. Mate "Key City;" 1857 capt. "Excelsior."

Cook, Samuel. 1857 clk. "Kate Cassell;" 1858 clk. "Fanny Harris;" 1859 clk. "Northern Light;" 1860 clk. "Ocean Wave;" 1861–66 clk. "War Eagle;" also for short periods clk. "Itasca" and "Key City."

Cooley, K. C. 1857 clk. "Northern Light."

Cooley, O. H. P. 1866 clk. "Northern Light," when she sank in Coon Slough.

Coones, —. 1845 capt. "St. Louis Oak."

Cooper, J. C. July 14, 1857 clk. "Northern Belle."

Cordry, Thomas. July 1, 1858 mate "Galena," when she burned at Red Wing landing.

Cormack, Gideon. French pilot with Minnesota Packet Company, in 40's and early 50's.

Cormack, John. French floating-raft pilot in the 40's; living at St. Cloud, Minn., about 1880.

Cormack, Pleasant. French pilot engaged in rafting in the 40's; afterward pilot with Minnesota Packet Company between Galena and St. Paul.

Cossen, —. 1849 capt. "American Eagle," at Galena.

Cowin, A. H. 1856 clerk.

Cowles, Charles W. Clk. in Diamond Jo Line for many years; built "Diamond Jo" at Woodman on Wisconsin River; 1902 died at McGregor.

Crapster, W. H. 1852 capt. "Badger State;" 1858-59 capt. "Chippewa;" for several years capt. lighthouse tender "Lily;" died at St. Louis, Mo.

Crossle, Henry. Nov. 13, 1836 on "Wisconsin," at Burlington.

Crowley, —. May, 1858 clk. "Henry Clay," at La Crosse.

Culver, —. 1828 capt. "Missouri Fulton," at Galena.

Cupp, William. One of the earliest pilots on upper river; special rapids pilot for both rapids; in Minnesota Packet Company; 1844–47 capt. and owner "St. Croix."

Cushing, Thomas. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; 1861–62 pilot "Fanny Harris;" 1863 capt. "War Eagle;" later capt. "New St. Paul;" was an opera singer in New York before coming West; died in La Crosse.

Dales, —. May, 1856 chief clk. "Brazil," at Wyalusing.

Darst, —. May 24, 1853 clk. "Ben Campbell," at La Crosse; May, 1854 clk. "Admiral," at Wyalusing.

Davidson, M. L. One of founders of La Crosse and St. Paul Packet Company and Northwestern Union Packet Company.

Davidson, Peyton S. Brother of preceding; 1856 mate "Jacob Traber;" 1860-61 capt. "Favorite;" 1863 capt. "McLellan;" supt. of Northwestern Packet Company and later of Northern Line Packet Company,

in both of which he with his brothers was largely interested; established a ship-yard at La Crosse where some of the finest boats were built and repaired.

Davidson, Thomas L. Half-brother of preceding; capt. of many boats in the Davidson lines.

Davidson, William F. Born in Lawrence County, Ohio, Feb. 4, 1825; father steamboatman on Ohio; instructed in river matters; capt. "Gondola" at age of twenty; 1856 with his brother Peyton established a steamboat line on the Minnesota River, with "Frank Steele" and "Favorite," on that river, and "Æolian" as a connecting boat between St. Paul and La Crosse; 1859 added "Moses McLellan," "G. H. Wilson," and "Winona;" in autumn of 1861 La Crosse & St. Paul Packet Company consolidated with the Minnesota Packet Company; May 1, 1866, White Collar Line and Northwestern Line consolidated under the name of Northwestern Union Packet Company, Captain Davidson president, John Lawler of Prairie du Chien general manager, George A. Blanchard of Dubuque secretary, William H. Rhodes of St. Paul treasurer, William E. Wellington of Dubuque, P. S. Davidson of La Crosse, superintendents; becoming interested in religious matters Captain Davidson abolished the bars from all the boats which he controlled, and did personal work to reform his employees; continued in the steamboat business until his death at St. Paul May 26, 1887; left one son, Edward E. Davidson, of St. Paul, and a daughter, Sallie, who resided at the old home in Ohio.

Dawley, A. H. Son of D. V. Dawley; clk. for many years; still living (1911) at Le Claire, Iowa.

Davis, Charles. 1864 pilot "Damsel," with William Fisher for partner.

Davis, Daniel. Early raft pilot; among first to begin "towing through;" lived at Le Claire, Iowa.

Davis, John B. Began on Ohio River, where he was capt. at age of nineteen; 1859 capt. "Freighter;" attempted to sail during high water, across height of land from Big Stone Lake, Minn., to Red River of North, boat grounded on prairie and wrecked about ten miles from the lake; machinery taken out and put in new boat on Red River; 1860 capt. "War Eagle;" 1861 capt. "Northern Light;" later capt. in Diamond Jo Line for several years.

Davis, T. B. River capt.; is still (1912) on river, in sand and gravel business at Rock Island.

Dawley, Daniel G. May 4, 1841 capt. "Indian Queen," at Burlington.

Dawley, Daniel V. 1855-56 clk. "Golden Era;" 1856 clk. "Galena;" 1857 clk. "Henry Clay;" clk. of many other boats of Minnesota Packet Company; died at Le Claire, Iowa.

Day, Henry R. 1848 and 1851 capt. "Uncle Toby."

Day, James S. April 20, 1838 on "Quincy," at Burlington.

Dayer, W. June 15, 1833 on "O'Connell," at Burlington.

Dean, William. 1859 mate "Golden Era;" later on several other boats of Minnesota Packet Company and Diamond Jo Line; fell from boat and was drowned at Dubuque.

DeMarah, Louis. French-Indian pilot, at first raft pilot from 1830 to early 40's; lived at Prairie du Chien.

Deming, R. G. 1854 clk. "Admiral," at Wyalusing.

Denny, John. Dec. 3, 1856 carpenter "Adelia" at La Crosse.

Dickinson, —. May 18, 1836 capt. "Banner," at Dubuque.

Dierdorff, William O. 1850 on "Wisconsin," at Burlington.

Dikeman, W. W. Pilot, living (1908) at Lansing, Iowa.

Diley, George. 1868 engr. "Ida Fulton," at McGregor.

Dinan, —. 1857 clk. "Montauk," at Wyalusing.

Dinan, J. W. 1845 clk. "Galena," at Galena.

Dintock, W. Clerk in 40's.

Dodge, Leroy. 1836 clk.; later pilot; still later capt. of one of his boats, "Ben Campbell;" 1842 on "Ione."

Dodge, Tom. Engineer.

Dolson, L. Engineer, brother of following; lived at Dubuque.

Dolson, Stephen. 1852–60 pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; later, until about 1906 in Diamond Jo Line; died (about 1907) at Dubuque.

Dolson, Thomas. Brother of preceding; in Minnesota Packet Company, Northern, and Diamond Jo lines; lived in Dubuque; for a number of years pilot on Yukon.

Dolson, William. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; lived in Dubuque.

Drenning, Thomas G. 1850-60 pilot in Minnesota Packet Company.

Dubois, Joseph D. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1857-59 clk. "Northern Light."

Dunn, Charles. April, 1841 clk. "Monsoon," at Burlington.

Durant, E. W. Pilot, at Stillwater, Minn.; engaged in rafting, as owner.

Eddy, Charles. Chief clk. "Northern Light," when she sank in Coon Slough, April, 1866; in Minnesota Packet Company several years.

Eden, Robert C. Younger son of English baronet; editor Oshkosh *Northwestern;* 1859 capt. and owner of "Enterprise," small side-wheel boat from Lake Winnebago; 1864 major of 37th Wisconsin Infantry, serving in the 9th Army Corps until end of war; returned to England and entered the ministry; is now dead.

Estes, J. B. 1855 capt. "Hamburg."

Fanning, John. 1856-57 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company; lived at Dubuque.

Farley, John P. 1864 chief clk. "Damsel;" also clk. on "Key City" and "Northern Light;" for many years agent of Northern Line at Dubuque; died in North Dakota.

Farris, Charles H. Son of following; 1869 began life on river as "cub" pilot "Minnesota;" later made a specialty of rapids piloting, in which he continued until 1897; took the "Gem City" over the rapids in one hour and one minute—the best time ever made; living (1911) at Montrose, Iowa.

Farris, Robert. Born May 4, 1824; commenced steamboating on the Des Moines River; 1851–61 capt. and pilot "Alice," "Colonel Morgan," "Clara Hine," "Ad. Hine," and "Des Moines City;" 1862 began piloting on Des Moines rapids on "Bill Henderson," later on "Dan Hine," also piloted packets over the rapids until the United States canal opened in 1876; appointed lock-master of the guard lock at head of rapids, serving several years; afterwards pilot on several government boats; lived at Farmington, Iowa; 1905 came to Montrose, and there died at the home of his son, May 13, 1908.

Faucette, William. 1854 chief clk. "War Eagle;" 1861 capt. "Fanny Harris;" 1862 capt. "Alhambra;" lived at Galena.

Fay, —. 1828 capt. "Indiana," at Fort Snelling.

Ferrall, John. 1841 clk. "Falcon," at Burlington.

Finney, John. March 20, 1845 clk. "Dubuque," at Burlington.

Fisher, William. Born in New York state; served as seaman on great lakes; 1852 came to Galena; learned the river on "Ben Campbell," Capt. W. Lodwick; 1853 on "War Eagle" with William White and John King; served on "Ben Campbell," "Audubon," "Banjo," "James Raymond," and many other boats; with Capt. Brock of St. Louis as partner, took "City of Quincy," sixteen-hundred-ton New Orleans packet, from St. Louis to St. Paul and back; served three years in the Union army; lived at Galena where he died in 1908.

Fithian, Thomas M. 1843 on "Boreas," at Burlington.

Flaherty, Thomas F. July 20, 1836 capt. "Emerald," at Dubuque; later in season capt. "Wisconsin," at Burlington.

Flanigan, P. 1870 engr. "Red Wing," at Burlington.

Ford, Rufus. 1844 on "Patriot," at Burlington; 1853 capt. "Di Vernon."

Forse, William. 1845 on "Iron City."

Franz, August. Retired pilot, living at La Crosse.

Frasier, D. M. 1844 on "Hannibal."

Frazier, William N. 1844 clk. "Hannibal," at Burlington.

French, —. 1857 capt. "Kate French," at St. Paul.

French, —. 1862 clk. "Canada," at St. Paul.

Frick, C. J. 1874 clk. "Gate City," at Galena.

Fulton, L. 1859 capt. "Chippewa Falls," running from Read's Landing to Eau Claire.

Furman, Charles. 1857 clk. "Editor," at Wyalusing.

Gabbert, William H. Born Memphis, May 14, 1823; 1846–47 bartender "Yankee;" 1848 clk. "Yankee;" 1849–51 capt. "Enterprise," from Galena to Portage; 1852–53 capt. "Clarion," Wisconsin River; 1856 capt. "Alhambra;" 1857 capt. "Granite State;" 1858–59 capt. "War Eagle;" 1860 capt. "Fanny Harris;" 1861 capt. "Golden Era;" 1862 and 1866, capt. "Northern Light;" died at Davenport, Iowa, 1906.

Gaines, John. 1824-34 keel-boatman.

Galland, W. 1845 clk. "Mermaid," at Burlington.

Galvin, Dennis. 1850-60 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company; lived at Galena.

Gardapie, Joe. French–Indian raft pilot from Prairie du Chien; later on "War Eagle;" 1868 on "John C. Gault;" his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bernard Scofield, is living (1911) at Prairie du Chien; and his daughter, Mrs. F. Wettenhall, at Wabasha.

Gaynor, Patrick. Pilot "Ocean Wave," when she burned about 1868 at Frontenac, Minn., no lives lost. Captain George Knapp, of Osceola, and Captain William Tibbals, of Dubuque, each attempted to get the bell of the "Ocean Wave"—the sweetest-toned bell on the river; Captain Knapp got the bell, but it was cracked and worthless. (See Merrick, *Old Times on the Mississippi*, p. 33.)

Gear, H. H. Capt. for many years, also in lead-mining at Galena.

Gilbert, —. 1855 capt. "Falls City," at St. Paul.

Gill, Charles F. Oct. 16, 1856 on "Minnesota Belle," at Burlington.

Gillett, William. 1856 clk. "Adelia," at La Crosse; April, 1857 capt. and owner "Adelia," just bought from Capt. W. Bates, at Dubuque.

Gilman, Sam A. June 15, 1843 clk. "Osage," at Burlington.

Gilpatrick, Henry. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for many years.

Girdon, George W. Born May 13, 1814; 1835 came to Galena; same year capt. "Heroine;" capt. on river for a number of years; appointed hull inspector at Galena, holding the office several terms; died in Galena after 1878.

Girdon, G. R. Nephew of preceding; 1850 clk. "Yankee;" 1856 clk. "Hamburg."

Gleim, Ben. V. Clk. in 40's.

Gleim, E. H. 1832-35 clk. "Warrior," was in battle of Bad Axe; May 18, 1836 capt. "Warrior," at Dubuque, succeeding Capt. Throckmorton; June 22, 1836 capt. "Wisconsin," at Dubuque; 1846 capt. "Monona;" 1854-56 capt. "Royal Arch;" 1856 capt. "Ocean Wave;" also "Pawnee"

and "Highlander;" died of consumption, at De Soto House, Galena, June 17, 1856; was known as a very capable officer.

Gleim, E. H. May 5, 1846 clk. "Bridgewater," at Burlington; 1856 clk. "War Eagle," at Wyalusing; 1857 chief clk. "Grey Eagle."

Glenn, William. Known as "one-eyed Billy" Glenn; 1857 chief engr. "Hope No. 2."

Gody, Alexander. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for many years.

Goldsmith, B. 1844 on "Mermaid," at Burlington.

Goll, Cephas B. On river in 1838; capt. "Galena;" 1854 capt. "Henrietta;" 1856 capt. "Greek Slave;" 1861 capt. "Henry Clay."

Goll, John. Pilot; knew the river from New Orleans to St. Paul; one of the best pilots on the river; was on watch when "Nominee" was snagged and sunk at Britt's Landing, 1854; died at St. Louis.

Goodell, —. 1857 capt. "Progress," at St. Paul.

Gorman, M. E. 1844 clk. "General Brooke," at Burlington.

Gossett, John. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Co., 1850–60.

Gossett, William. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Co., 1850–60.

Gray, —. 1839 capt. "Gipsy," at Fort Snelling.

Gray, Isaac. 1860–62 capt. "H. S. Allen," on St. Croix River; killed by fall from his house, in Oregon.

Gray, R. C. Born in Allegheny County, Pa., Sept. 24, 1822; clk. "Louisville," St. Louis to New Orleans; 1841 clk. "Lehigh," Capt. U. C. Gray his brother; 1842 clk. "Evaline," St. Louis and Pittsburgh; 1843 clk. "Allegheny," capt. William Dean, St. Louis and Pittsburgh; 1857–60 capt. "Denmark," of which he was owner; 1856 capt. "Henrietta;" 1860 built "Hawkeye State," of which he was captain; later made his home in Pittsburgh where he conducted a shipyard; he introduced the calliope on the river, putting one on "Denmark;" died at New York, May 28, 1888.

Green, —. 1846–68 "Red Wing."

Green, —. May, 1856 clk. "Luella" at Wyalusing.

Green, Asa B. Capt. and owner of "Equator," wrecked on St. Croix Lake, 1858; came from Chippewa River; was a Methodist minister, served as chaplain of the 30th Wisconsin Infantry.

Greene, Montraville. 1856 clk. "Luella;" 1858-59 capt. "W. L. Ewing;" 1860 capt. "Muscatine."

Greenlee, —. 1857 capt. "Chippewa," at St. Paul.

Gregg, Cephas. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company, living in 1909.

Griffiths, James. 1850-60 engr. Minnesota Packet Company; living at Galena, 1861.

Griffiths, Thomas H. 1840–1841 capt. "Chippewa;" 1852–55 capt.

"York State;" 1857–59 capt. and owner "Pembina;" living in St. Louis, 1909.

Grinnell, S. Sept. 12, 1852 clk. "Hindoo," at Burlington; clk. in Northern Line; later on "St. Paul" Capt. William Burke; died at Keokuk, Iowa.

Haines, Ben E. 1856 on "Jenny Lind," at Burlington.

Hale, —. 1863 capt. "Pearl," frozen in at Newport, Minn., Nov. 14, for all winter.

Halliday, Edward W. Oct. 1856 clk. "Golden Era," at Wyalusing; May 1855 clk. "Lady Franklin;" 1903 was living at Cairo, Ill.

Hall, Alfred. Born in Attica, N. Y.; lived at Hudson, Wis.; entered the steamboat service at the age of thirty-one and served as clerk for about fourteen years, retiring about 1876; was on "War Eagle," "Phil Sheridan," "Keokuk," "City of St. Paul," and "Winona;" died Aug. 25, 1895. His wife, Mrs. Mary B. Hall, is living (1911) at Hudson.

Hall, Dan. 1857 deck-hand "Hope No. 2;" later on "Camden;" 1859 deck-hand "Northern Light;" later in season second mate of same; 1864 second mate "Northern Light;" also on "G. H. Gray" and "Mollie Mohler;" later first mate "Northern Belle," and "Belle of La Crosse;" was living April, 1910, at Trufant, Mich.

Hall, Peter. 1851 capt. "Black Hawk," on Wisconsin River; Capt. Hall spent many winters in a small boat drifting down the river as far as New Orleans, collecting Indian relics and other curiosities for the museum at Davenport, where he lived.

Hall, Wilfred F. Pilot in the 40's.

Hamilton, William H. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1860-61 on "Fanny Harris;" on "Galena" when she burned at Red Wing, July 1858; entered United States service in 1862 as engr. on gunboats; was mentioned in general orders for bravery in handling his engines while under fire; died near St. Louis in the 80's.

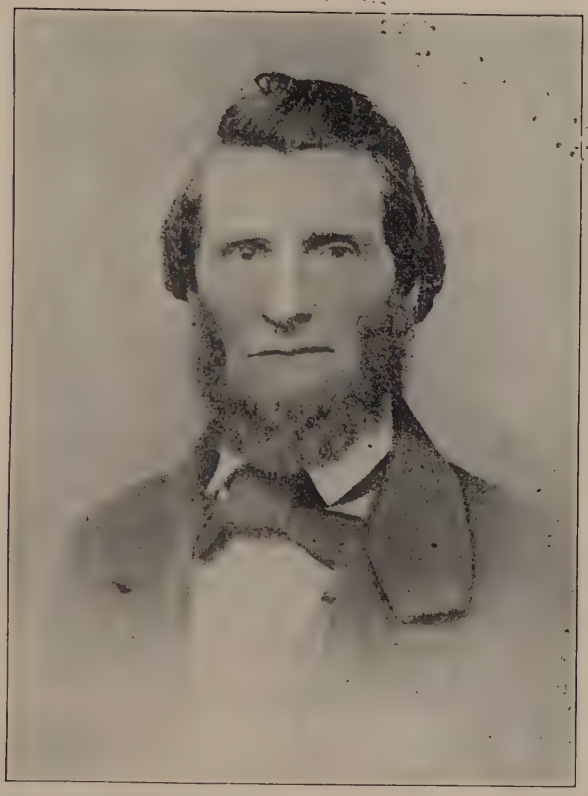
Hann, Peter. Pilot; 1853 on "Di Vernon," on special excursion St. Louis to St. Paul.

Hardesty, John. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Hargus, Charles. One of the best clerks on the river; 1850-60 chief on many boats of the Minnesota Packet Company including "Royal Arch," "Golden State," "Kate Cassell," "Fanny Harris," and "War Eagle;" lived at Dubuque, where he served as city recorder for many years, and where he was highly respected and greatly esteemed; died at Dubuque Aug. 10, 1878.

Harlow, Sam. Pilot and capt. 1854; 1855 capt. "Luella;" 1856 capt. "Kate Cassell;" lived in Dubuque.

Harold, George. Early raft pilot.



Daniel Smith Harris

Harold, Pembroke. Early raft pilot.

Harris, Daniel Smith. Born in Courtright, N. Y., July 24, 1808; came to Galena on keel-boat "Colonel Bumford;" engaged in lead-mining and steamboating; built, owned (wholly or in part), and captained the following: 1832–34 "Jo Daviess;" 1835 "Hermione;" 1836 "Frontier;" 1837 "Smelter;" 1838 "Pre-emption;" 1839 "Relief;" 1840 "Sutler;" 1841–44 "Otter;" 1845 "War Eagle" and "Time and Tide;" 1846–47 capt. "War Eagle;" 1848 "Senator;" 1849 "Dr. Franklin No. 2." During low water in 1848–50, when his larger boats could not run, commanded the little stern-wheel "Enterprise;" 1850–51 "Nominee;" 1852 "New St. Paul," "Luella," "West Newton;" 1853 capt. "West Newton;" 1854–56 capt. "War Eagle;" 1857–61 capt. and owner "Grey Eagle," the finest and fastest boat ever on the upper river, which in May 1861 struck the Rock Island bridge and sunk in seven minutes, a total loss; Capt. Harris thereupon retired from the river, never to return; died at Galena in 1892.

Harris, Jackson. Youngest brother of preceding, born (1828) at Galena; 1841 "cub" pilot "Otter;" 1859–60 pilot "Northern Light;" 1861 pilot "War Eagle;" 1866 pilot "Northern Light," which he sunk in Coon Slough by swinging her into sharp anchor ice.

Harris, James Meeker. Brother of preceding; conducted a boat-store at Galena from 1845 to 1861.

Harris, Martin Keeler. Brother of preceding; 1841 engr. "Otter;" 1845 engr. "Time and Tide;" 1847 capt. "Light Foot;" 1850 capt. "Yankee;" 1852 capt. "St. Paul."

Harris, Nathaniel. Capt. "John Rumsey."

Harris Oliver. Clk. on revenue cutter, at Burlington.

Harris, Robert Scribe. Brother of Daniel Smith Harris; came to Galena on keel-boat "Colonel Bumford" in 1824; in 1831, while engr. on the Ohio, bought some old machinery and brought it to Galena, where he and his brothers built the hull of the "Jo Daviess," on the cut-off between Fever River and Harris Slough—the first of some twenty boats to be built and run by the Harris brothers. 1829–31 engr. "Galena;" 1832–34 engr. "Jo Daviess;" 1836 on "Frontier;" 1837 on "Smelter;" 1838–40 capt. and owner "Pizarro;" 1841–43 engr. "Otter;" 1844 capt. "Otter;" 1845–47 engr. "War Eagle;" 1848 engr. "Dr. Franklin No. 2;" 1849 engr. "Senator;" 1850–51 engr. "West Newton;" 1852–53 engr. "Dr. Franklin No. 2;" 1854–56 engr. "War Eagle;" died at Dubuque between 1880 and 1885.

Harton, T. M. Clk. in 40's.

Hartshorn, W. E. June, 1854 clk. "Grand Prairie," at Wyalusing.

Harwood, E. Clk.; lived at Dubuque 1868.

Haskins, H. 1846 capt. "Little Dove," at Galena.

Hatcher, J. R. 1859-60 capt. "Frank Steele;" 1861 capt. "Winona;" 1862-63 capt. "Keokuk."

Hatcher, N. S. Clk. in 40's.

Hatcher, Pole. Clk. in Northern Line, on many of best boats; April 5, 1877 clk. "Minneapolis," at Dubuque.

Havlin, A. 1859 clk. "Davenport," at Burlington.

Hawkins, H. C. 1848 clk. "St. Peters;" June, 1854 clk. "Grand Prairie."

Hawkins, J. F. 1845 on "Confidence," at Burlington.

Hay, —. 1857-58 capt. "Minnesota."

Haycock, —. 1854-56 capt. "Globe," Minnesota River trade; 1861, 1863 capt. "Stella Whipple."

Hays, J. P. 1857 clk. "Excelsior."

Hazzard, Daniel. 1844 clk. "Di Vernon," at Burlington.

Hazzard, George H. Many years on the river, serving first as pantry-boy, then second clerk, "cub" engineer, mate, first clerk, pilot, and capt. on "H. S. Allen," "G. H. Gray," "Mollie Mohler," "Stella Whipple," "Moses McLellan," and many other boats; was steamboat agent at St. Paul, freight agent for Great Northern Railway, and in other lines of transportation; is now engaged in the insurance business in St. Paul; represents Minnesota as park commissioner for St. Croix Interstate Park.

Henderson, "Billy." Owned bar on "Excelsior" for many years, sold fruit etc.; later, bought up the bars on a dozen other boats, hiring bartenders, but keeping a general personal supervision; he was a well-known river character.

Henderson, R. M. 1846 on "War Eagle," at Burlington.

Henderson, William. 1834 clk. "Olive Branch;" 1854 clk. "Grey Cloud."

Herdman, —. 1857 capt. "Arizona," at St. Paul.

Hewitt, I. 1834 clk. "Brazil," at Burlington.

Hewitt, Stephen. 1856 clk. "Henrietta;" 1857-59 capt. "Milwaukee."

Hickman, Nathaniel P. Engr. in 40's at Burlington.

Hight, Washington. Pilot in 50's; 1856–57 on "Brazil," with Edward Cahalin for partner; 1877 on "Diamond Jo;" pilot on both rapids; in service many years; died 1909 in Illinois.

Hight, William P. Brother of preceding; pilot between St. Louis and St. Paul long before the war; pilot on both rapids; capt. in Northern Line many years; died in St. Louis.

Hill, Thomas B. First-class engr.; 1857–59 capt. "Minnesota Belle;" 1860-61 capt. "Pembina."

Hillhouse, William. Capt. "Dubuque," at Burlington; capt. one of

the first government boats on the upper river, with Norman C. Tibbals as pilot.

Hills, F. J. 1856 clk. "Alhambra," at Wyalusing.

Hinde, Charles T. Clerk in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; living 1903 at San Diego, Cal.

Hine, Adams. 1836 on "Science," at Burlington.

Hine, Louis L. 1857 capt. "Clara Hine," at Burlington.

Hinman, R. B. 1854 on "Ben Campbell," at Burlington.

Holcombe, Edward V. August 26, 1853 pilot "Dr. Franklin" at La Crosse; 1854 pilot "Nominee;" 1855 pilot "Northern Belle;" 1860-61 capt. "Keokuk;" 1862-63 capt. "Milwaukee," frozen in at Pine Bend, Minn., for all winter.

Holcombe, W. 1835 capt. "Olive Branch," at Burlington; June 3, 1837 capt. "Olive Branch," at Dubuque.

Holland, Perry. 1857-58 mate "Northern Light;" 1866 mate "Northern Light," when she sunk in Coon Slough; 1866 mate "Belle of La Crosse."

Hollcroft, —. 1856 capt. "Diamond," at Wyalusing.

Hollowell, N. K. Aug. 20, 1842 capt. "Leander," at Burlington.

Holmead, C. S. 1844 clk. "Highlander," at Burlington.

Holmes, Lafayette. Pilot with Minnesota Packet Company, from 1853; 1846–60 lived at Galena; 1860–67 at St. Paul; and since that time at La Crosse; 1881 agt. Keokuk Northern Line.

Holmes, William S. Clk. in Davidson Line; 1881 living at La Crosse.

Hoffman, —. 1856 capt. "Clarion," at St. Paul.

Hooper, W. H. 1843 capt. "Otter;" 1846 capt. "Time and Tide;" 1848 capt. "Alexander Hamilton." Capt. Hooper married Electa Harris, sister of the Harris brothers; in 1848 went to Salt Lake City and allied himself with the Mormons; was sent several times as delegate to Congress.

Hopkins, E. R. 1842 and 1844 clk. "Iowa," at Burlington; 1845 clk. "Hibernian;" 1846 clk. "Huntsville."

Horton, Charles. 1857 chief clk. "Itasca," at Wyalusing.

Hotelling, Peter. 1845 capt. "Maid of Iowa," running between Galena and Fort Winnebago, at Portage.

Humbertson, George. 1851 built, owned, and commanded "Badger State" running between Galena and Portage; 1854-56 capt. "Minnesota Belle," with W. R. Tibbals pilot in 1855.

Hunt, Campbell. Born on Illinois River just above its junction with Mississippi; learned the river with John Goll; pilot between Cairo and St. Paul; is now serving on lighthouse tender "Lily;" home at St. Louis.

Hunt, Hiram. 1867 chief engr. "Grey Eagle."

Hunt, James S. July 1, 1858 chief engr. "Galena," when she burned at Red Wing levee; living (1911) at Savanna, Ill.

Hunt, John. May 6, 1846 on "Monona," at Burlington.

Hunt, Phil. K. July 30, 1831 clk. "Winnebago," at Burlington.

Hunt, W. E. 1857 capt. and owner "Courier," at St. Paul.

Hurd, J. Y. 1856 capt. "Granite State;" 1858-60 capt. "Northern Belle;" 1862 capt. "Itasca."

Hustleby, John. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; 1857 partner with Captain Tibbals on "Golden Era."

Hutchinson, A. M. Commenced boating on Minnesota River before the war; capt. and supt. in Davidson Line; died at Keokuk.

Hutchinson, O. S. Clk. on "H. S. Allen," "Ariel," and other boats; lived at Prescott.

Hynson, George W. July 1, 1857 clk. "Golden Era," at La Crosse.

Irvine, —. 1857 capt. "Rescue."

Isherwood, Thomas G. Steamboat carpenter; 1853 came from the Ohio; on "Lamartine," later on "A. G. Mason," and other boats; now (1911) 76 years old, watchman on Rock Island ferry boat.

James, —. 1857 capt. "Ocean Wave."

Jameson, —. 1857 capt. "W. S. Nelson."

Jenks, J. B. 1857 capt. "Tishomingo;" 1860 capt. "Metropolitan."

Jewell, Charles. Pilot, lived at Prescott; ran to St. Croix Falls; 1854–62 on "Equator," "H. S. Allen," "Wenona," and other St. Croix River packets.

Johnson, E. A. 1861 clk. "War Eagle."

Johnson, Mason. May 10, 1841 clk. "Vandalia," at Burlington.

Johnson, W. C. July 7, 1847 clk. "Ocean Wave," at Burlington.

Jones, J. Russell. For many years secretary of the Minnesota Packet Company; 1860 lived at Dunleith, Ill.; later moved to Galena; died in Chicago, April, 1909.

Keach, John N. 1856 clk. "J. McKee," at Burlington.

Keath, John R. April 1859 clk. "Pembina," at McGregor.

Kelly, William. Born Galena, 1839; educated in Sinsinawa Mound College; 1856 "cub" pilot "Brazil" with his uncle, Edward Cahalin, and Washington Hight, pilots; 1857-58 on "Pembina;" 1859 was given license signed by Daniel Smith Harris, William White, and Thomas L. Griffith; later, learned the river from St. Louis to New Orleans, claims that he is the only man who took a boat from St. Paul to the jetties at the Gulf of Mexico, as he did with the government steamer "Patrol." Pilot "Centennial," the largest boat in the upper river trade; pilot "Alexander Mitchell" with William Fisher when she was

William Kelly

struck by cyclone at Wells Landing above Dubuque; pilot and capt. in government service for twelve years; retired in 1909 after 53 years continuous service during which time he piloted or commanded more than fifty different boats on upper and lower river; now (1911) secretary of the Mississippi and Ohio Pilots' Association in St. Louis; has written interesting articles for papers and magazines relating some of his varied experiences on the river.

Kempland, A. May 1, 1841 clk. "Chippewa," at Burlington.

Kennett, S. M. July 9, 1842 capt. "Rapidan" at Burlington; 1844 capt. "Lewis F. Linn."

Kent, —. Capt. and owner "Nellie Kent," of Osceola, where he lived.

Ketcham, Mack. 1866 chief engr. "Northern Light," when she sunk in Coon Slough.

Killeen, John. Began on river as deck hand in 1856; passed through all grades to capt.; finally retired to become vice-president and general supt. of the Diamond Jo Line at Dubuque, where he is living (1911).

Kinestone, James. 1857 chief engr. "Northern Light."

King, George L. 1845 capt. "New Haven," of Galena.

King, John. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; a first-class pilot, one of the best on the upper river; died at Portage, Mo.

Kingman, A. T. Apr. 7, 1857 capt. "War Eagle," at La Crosse.

Kintnor, John A. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Knapp, George B. 1857–61 capt. and owner "G. B. Knapp," on St. Croix Lake and River.

Knapp, Oscar F. Commenced on river 1860; in St. Croix River trade chiefly; retired 1910 to his farm near Maiden Rock.

Knight, —. Apr. 1856 clk. "Galena," at Wyalusing.

LaBarge, Joseph. 1840 pilot "Omega," owned by American Fur Company; 1841 capt. "Emelia;" 1845 bought "General Brooke" for Missouri River trade; capt. "General Brooke" until burned in 1849 on the Missouri River.

LaBlanc, Thomas. Early raft pilot; lived at Prairie du Chien.

LaChappelle, Gabriel. Raft and steamboat pilot for many years; living (1911) at Prairie du Chien aged 70 years.

Lafferty, James. June 15, 1836 capt. "Adventure," at Dubuque; 1837 capt. "Pavillion;" 1841 capt. "Sarah Ann."

LaGrew, Joe. 1838 settled at Willow River now Hudson, Wis.; raft pilot on St. Croix and Mississippi with Peter Bouchea and John B. Page.

Lamar, Charles. 1856 capt. and owner "Hamburg;" capt. and owner "Luella."

Lamb, —. May, 1856 chief clk. "Luella," at Wyalusing.

Lamont, Alexander. Began on upper Mississippi in the 40's; 1877 capt. "Minneapolis;" took the steamer "Reserve" for the government from New Orleans to Mobile by way of the Gulf of Mexico; capt. "Ben Hur," 1911; is 87 years old, living at Upper Alton, Ill.

Lamont, George. Capt. in Northern Line; living (1904) at Rock Island, agent for Northern Line.

Lamont, W. H. Agent for White Collar line at Davenport, 1911; nephew of Capt. Alex. Lamont.

Lancaster, John. For many years pilot and master on upper river; is now (1911) owner and master of "Eclipse," passenger packet between Dubuque and Prairie du Chien; his two sons are with him on the boat, as pilot and engineer.

Lannings, James. 1865 clk. "Canada."

Lansing, R. G. May, 1854 chief clk. "Admiral" at Wyalusing.

LaPointe, Charles. French-Indian raft pilot in the 40's; lived at Prairie du Chien.

La Rock (La Rocque), Joseph. French-Indian raft pilot in the 40's; lived at Prairie du Chien.

Laughton, William H. Born in London, 1823; 1844 settled in Platteville; 1846-47 seaman on Great Lakes; 1852 began river life as mate "Nominee;" 1852-54 mate "Galena;" 1854-56 capt. "City Belle;" 1857-58 capt. "Galena" that burned at Red Wing, Minn., July 1, 1858; 1859-60 capt. "Golden Era;" 1861-62 capt. "Northern Belle;" 1863 capt. "Milwaukee;" 1864 capt. "Alex Mitchell;" 1865 capt. "Lucy Bertram;" 1872-73 capt. "Alex Mitchell;" 1882 capt. "Belle of Minnetonka," on Lake Minnetonka, Minn.; 1883 died at his home in Platteville; during his life on the river he saved nine persons from drowning, in many cases at imminent risk of his own life; an engrossed set of resolutions, and a silver loving cup made by Tiffany, were given Captain Laughton by the passengers on the "Nominee," April 20, 1852, in token of his bravery in jumping overboard and saving the life of a little girl who had fallen over the rail.

LaVeille, Eugene. Mar. 19, 1845 pilot "Mendota," at Burlington.

LaVeille, Thurdan. On river in the 40's with his brother Eugene.

Lay, John. Engr.; lived at Prescott and ran on St. Croix River boats; 1858 chief engr. "Equator" when she was wrecked on Lake St. Croix.

Lackland, James R. Oct. 14, 1842 clk. "Osage," at Burlington.

Lackland, R. J. May 15, 1842 clk. "Oregon," at Burlington.

Lee, John. August, 1846 capt. "Atlas;" 1848 capt. "Montauk."

Leidz, F. W. Feb. 24, 1840 clk. "Ohio," at Burlington.

Leitch, George. Engr.; lived at Keokuk.

Leitch, Harry. 1859 began as deck-hand "Northern Light;" 1867–68 mate "Canada;" 1869 mate "Huron;" 1910 living at Quincy, engaged in the coal business; was draw-tender at Quincy bridge for several years.

Lewis, George. 1868 engr. "Ida Fulton," at McGregor.

Lewis, William T. Sept. 1853 clk. "Alice," at Wyalusing; 1857 clk. "Itasca."

Lightner, J. H. Clk. in the 40's.

Lindley, R. J. Raft pilot; April, 1911 living at Le Claire, Iowa.

Littleton, M. 1829 capt. "Josephine," at Burlington; founder of first packet line between the rapids.

Lodwick, Kennedy. 1846 capt. "Argo;" 1856 capt. "City Belle" and "Galena;" later capt. "Lady Franklin."

Lodwick, M. W. 1847 capt. "Argo;" 1849-51 capt. "Dr. Franklin;" 1852 capt. "Blackhawk" and "Ben Campbell;" 1853 capt. "Ben Campbell" and "Dr. Franklin;" 1854 capt. "Northern Belle."

Lodwick, Preston. 1854, capt. "Dr. Franklin No. 2;" 1856 capt. "Northern Belle;" 1857-60, capt. "Northern Light."

Long, Gabriel. 1822–29 French pilot of keel-boats, lived at Prairie du Chien.

Looney, A. H. Born (1830) Randolph County, Ill.; came to Wisconsin in 1836, and lived first in Lafayette County; 1852 at La Crosse; has followed the river as pilot ever since.

Looney, Frank H. Pilot, son of preceding; living (1881) in La Crosse, aged 27 years; is in Davidson Line.

Looney, Morrell M. Brother of preceding; living (1881) in La Crosse; pilot in Davidson Line.

Looney, Robert. July, 1856 capt. "Falls City;" living in La Crosse.

Lucas, M. E. Capt. in Minnesota Packet Company for several years.

Lyon, —. 1839 capt. "Ariel."

Lyons, —. 1857 capt. "W. H. Denny," at St. Paul.

McAllister, Duncan. Carpenter on many boats of the Minnesota Packet Company; 1859–61 on "Fanny Harris."

McAllister, R. C. 1839 on river at Burlington; 1841 capt. "Illinois."

McBride, John. Capt., living (1904) at St. Louis.

McCaffrey, John. Born 1842; commenced rafting at age of thirteen; then clerk, pilot, and later captain—his first boat, "Alvira;" later, owned and commanded a number of tow-boats—rafters; was a lumberman and mine owner, and very wealthy.

McCain, J. B. Engr. living (1881) at La Crosse.

McCain, John. Early raft pilot, at Burlington.

McClintock, —. 1857 capt. "Henry Graff," at Wyalusing.

McClune, J. S. Organized the St. Louis & Keokuk Packet Company in the 40's, with other river projects later.

McCoy, E. M. 1847 capt. "Senator," at Galena.

McCoy, J. B. Raft pilot from the St. Croix; 1861 on "Fanny Harris;" an expert boxer, and had a reputation as a fighting man.

McCraney, William. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company, on "Key City," and many other boats of the line; what was known as a "hot engineer"—carried lots of steam.

McCullough, Joseph. Pilot on upper river for more than twenty years, in Northern and Diamond Jo lines; lived at Fort Madison, Iowa.

McDonald, George. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company; 1861 on "Fanny Harris;" later in Diamond Jo Line; 1881 on "Mary Morton."

McGinnis, James C. Pilot on upper river in the 40's.

McGuire, —. 1855 and 1857 capt. "Alhambra."

McGuire, R. Dec. 3, 1856 clk. "Adelia," at La Crosse.

McKagan, Edward. 1858 capt. "Medora," at St. Paul.

McLaren, —. June, 1854 clk. "Greek Slave," at Wyalusing.

McMahon, —. 1847 capt. "Revenue Cutter," at Galena.

McMurchy, James. Chief Engr. in Davidson and Diamond Jo lines for many years; U. S. inspector of boilers; now deceased.

McPhail, "Sandy." Early raft pilot; did some steamboat work.

McPike, A. Founder Quincy Packet Company; active in river affairs in the 40's.

McPherson, P. Sept. 17, 1841 clk. "Mermaid," at Galena.

McLean, Daniel. Raft pilot; lived and died in Dubuque.

McVey, J. C. Clk. in the 40's.

Magan, —. April 25, 1841 clk. "Ione," at Burlington.

Mahan, Frank. March, 1853 clk. "Michigan," at Burlington.

Maitland, John H. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1843 on "Osprey," at Burlington; 1852 on "Nominee," at Wyalusing.

Malin, J. W. 1853 capt. "Lady Franklin."

Mames, P. M. 1907 chief engr. "J. S.;" living at Davenport.

Mames, W. R. 1907 second engr. "J. S.," living at Davenport.

Manning, Charles. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; then in Northern Line Company between St. Louis and St. Paul; for several years pilot "Sucker State," Capt. William Hight; died in Portage, Mo.

Maratta, Frank. 1855 capt. "Prairie Rose," at St. Paul.

Marsden, S. R. April, 1874 capt. "A. J. Dorchester," at Galena.

Mason, Isaac M. Born in Brownsville, Pa., March 4, 1831; began

steamboating as second clk. "Consul," 1846 on Ohio River; at the age of nineteen capt. "Summit," between Louisville and Nashville; 1851 came to St. Louis and for fourteen years was clk. or capt. on the upper river; on "Editor," "Australia," "Honduras," "Alma," "Belle Golden," "Vixen," "Denmark," "Fred Lorenz," "Savanna," and "Hawkeye State," in most of which he was part or whole owner; 1865–76 agent Northern Line at St. Louis; 1884 appointed supt. Anchor Line, St. Louis to New Orleans; 1888 elected president of same company; a man of moral worth and integrity, as well as a very successful steamboat man.

Martin, C. D. Born 1824 in Washington County, Ohio; 1841 cabin-boy on Ohio River; capt. and pilot on Ohio and Mississippi ever since; 1857 capt. "Envoy;" 1862 capt. "Moses McLellan;" 1863 capt. "Frank Steele;" 1881 capt. and owner "Silver Lake."

Martin, Melvin. Engr. son of preceding; lived (1881) at La Crosse.

Massey, Louis. Early French raft pilot from the St. Croix; settled at Hudson; had squaw for wife; was in company with Joe Lagrew and Peter Bouchea, who were also rafters.

Mather, Charles C. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years—one of best on river; June 1856 on "Ocean Wave;" 1858 on "Galena," when she burned at Red Wing; 1862 on "War Eagle;" 1881 on "Mary Morton," of Diamond Jo Line; was living (1903) at St. Louis.

Maxwell, O. H. 1850–52, capt. "Tiger;" 1854–55 capt. "Blackhawk;" 1857–58 capt. "Wave;" nearly all the time on Minnesota River.

Maxwell, Sam. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company for many years—one of the best.

May, James. Born 1804 in Cape Girardeau, Mo.; 1822 commenced flat-boating on the Ohio, continuing until 1827, when he was given command of the "Shamrock," making a trip to Galena that year—the first purely business trip of any steamboat to the upper river; capt. "Enterprise," bringing General Gaines in 1832 to Rock Island to meet chief Black Hawk; 1832 at Galena with his boat, the "Dove;" 1834 retired from the river going into the grocery business in Davenport.

Melville, George R. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company; 1852 on "Dr. Franklin No. 2;" 1854 on "Nominee"; 1861 agent Minnesota Packet Company at Galena; served on many other boats of the line.

Merrick, Alfred. Pilot between St. Louis and St. Paul; registered 1855 in St. Louis.

Merrick, George B. [See sketch *ante*, p. 98.]

Merrick, Laban H. Steamboat agent; born Corinth, Vt., Dec. 16, 1801; June, 1854 came to Prescott from Niles, Mich., and assumed the agency for the Minnesota Packet Company and the St. Louis & St.

Paul Packet Company, which business he retained until sold to Charles L. Barnes, of Hastings, Minn.; continued in the grocery and grain-buying business on the levee until 1865; died Feb. 19, 1866, at Adrian, Mich.

Meyers, William. 1848 chief engr. "Dr. Franklin No. 1;" lived at Galena; served on other boats of the packet company.

Middleton, —. 1837 capt. "Palmyra," at Galena.

Miles, E. R. 1853 clk. "Garden City."

Miller, —. 1845 capt. "Hibernian," at Galena.

Mitchell, A. 1861 capt. "War Eagle," at La Crosse; for many years with Diamond Jo Line; died at Albany, Ill.

Mohler, William B. Old-time river capt. and steamboat owner; now (Dec., 1911) living at Minneapolis.

Montford, A. C. 1850–60 clk. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Montford, A. G. 1845 capt. "Lightfoot," at Winona; 1846 capt. "St. Anthony," at Galena.

Montgomery, Edward. 1847 capt. "Pearl" and "Kentucky," at Galena.

Montgomery, James. Early pilot in the Keokuk Packet Company; died at St. Louis.

Moore, Frank. April 8, 1854 clk. "Admiral," at Galena.

Moore, Seth. Pilot with Minnesota Packet Company for many years.

Moorehouse, D. B. 1854 brought "Galena" (new) from Cincinnati; commanded several other boats in the Minnesota Packet Company.

Moorehouse, Legrand. 1842–45 capt. "Iowa;" 1845–47 capt. "Falcon;" lived at Buffalo, Ill.; later moved to Springfield, Mo., where in 1890 he died.

Moreau, Louis. French-Indian raft pilot; lived at Prairie du Chien, entered on census roll of Crawford County as Louis "Morrow," with a wife and eight children; 1853 pilot of the "Dr. Franklin" with Captain Blakeley, who speaks highly of his ability.

Morland, A. B. Dec. 10, 1841 clk. "Huntsville," at Burlington.

Morrison, Charles C. 1846 capt. "Bertrand;" 1847 capt. "Anthony Wayne;" 1855 capt. "Oakland;" 1857–59 capt. "Aunt Letty."

Morrison, James. 1857 mate "Northern Light," at St. Paul.

Morse, Edward. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company between Dubuque and St. Paul; died at Dubuque.

Moss, Henderson. 1854 barber on "Key City;" left boat and opened a shop in La Crosse.

Moulton, Isaac H. 1859–61 commenced as clk. "Enterprise;" capt. "Keokuk;" 1865 brought out the new "City of St. Paul;" at various times was in command "War Eagle," "Phil. Sheridan," "Annie Johnson," "Addie Johnson," and "Diamond Jo;" retired from river and engaged in the coal business in La Crosse, where he was living in 1911,

and where he was a leader in everything which makes for the betterment of the city.

Moulton, Thomas. 1859–61 clk. "Enterprise."

Mulford, Charles. 1845 clk. "Boreas," at Burlington.

Mullen, William P. 1855–57 clk. "Montauk."

Newton, J. 1863 capt. "Clara Hine," at La Crosse.

Nichols, George. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for many years—one of the best.

Nichols, George S. Son of preceding, pilot for many years; on "J. S." for several years, until she burned June 25, 1910, at head of Bad Ax Island, near Victory, Wis., where he did commendable work in saving the passengers; living (1908) at La Crosse, Wis.

Nichols, Thomas. 1855 pilot "Julia Dean," at La Crosse.

Norris, James C. 1843 clk. "Annawan;" 1863 capt. "Albany."

Nourse, I. R. 1848 clk. "Alexander Hamilton," at Burlington.

Oldenburg, William. 1850–60 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Osborne, Robert G. Pilot between Dubuque and St. Paul for many years before the war; served also as clk.

Owens, Thomas. 1843 capt. "Lynx;" 1854 capt. "Excelsior;" 1856–1857 capt. "Mansfield."

Owens, —. 1858 clk. "W. H. Denney;" 1861 clk. "Henry Clay," at Wyalusing.

Page, John B. A Mormon, from Nauvoo, Ill., one of the first settlers at Hudson; raft pilot and lumberman on his own account; was six feet four inches tall.

Palmer, —. 1855 chief clk. "Julia Dean," at Wyalusing.

Papin, A. D. 1845 on "Lynx."

Parker, J. W. 1853–54 clk. "Nominee;" 1855 capt. "Lady Franklin" and "Golden Era;" 1856 capt. "Golden Era," and clk. "Alhambra;" 1860–62 capt. "Canada;" was also capt. "Fred Lorenz" and "Dubuque;" died on "Canada" while under way.

Parker, N. W. 1842 capt. "Osprey;" 1855–56 capt. "Montauk;" 1858–59 capt. "Dew Drop."

Parkhurst, L. 1848 clk. "Bon Accord;" 1861 clk. "La Crosse."

Parsons, L. S. Sept. 20, 1847 clk. "Clermont No. 2," at Burlington.

Patten, Charles H. Son of Henry M.; engr. on upper river for many years; began river life as cabin-boy on "Wyoming," 1852; retired 1910, and now living at Fort Madison, Iowa; has written many interesting articles relating to river life and history.

Patten, Henry M. In Northern Line for many years as mate and master; lived at Montrose, Iowa, where he died.

Patterson, —. May 18, 1836 capt. "Cavalier" at Dubuque.

Peake, C. G. July 7, 1836 on "M. O. Fulton," at Burlington.

Pearman, —. 1857 clk. "A. G. Mason," at St. Paul.

Perrin, —. Aug. 17, 1836 capt. "Missouri Fulton," at Dubuque.

Philumalee, David. Retired river man, living (1911) at Madison, about 90 years of age.

Phillips, A. Supt. Keokuk Packet Company.

Piatt, James. Apr. 6, 1877 engr. "Diamond Jo," at La Crosse.

Pierce, George S. 1856 capt. "Wyandotte;" 1857–60 clk. "Key City;" 1861 enlisted at Dubuque in the Governor's Grays, and went to the front; afterwards joined the regular army, and was in command at the battle of Camden, La.; was a West Point student before going on river, but did not graduate.

Pierz, N. V. 1853 clk. "Grand Prairie," at Burlington.

Plasterage, —. June 15, 1836 capt. "Galenian," at Dubuque.

Pomeroy, C. W. July 26, 1853 clk. "Excelsior," at La Crosse; Nov. 1856 clk. "Falls City," at Wabasha, Minn.

Primm, Louis. 1823 pilot "Virginia," first steamboat to enter Fever River, at Galena; also first boat to ascend Mississippi to Fort Snelling.

Porter, J. W. 1868 engr. "John C. Gault," at McGregor.

Porter, S. E. 1848 on "Dubuque," at Burlington.

Powers, I. 1852 clk. "Dubuque," at Burlington.

Poyner, Thomas. From Richland Center, Wis.; 1861 on "Grey Eagle" when she sunk at Rock Island bridge; 1866 second mate "Northern Light" when she sunk in Coon Slough; later in same year second mate "Belle of La Crosse;" killed by skiff falling from derrick, at Dubuque, on "Belle of La Crosse;" Harry Leitch, of Quincy, and Captain John Killeen, of Dubuque, speak of Mr. Poyner as one of the finest young men whom they ever knew.

Pratt, O. H. 1845 clk. "Western Belle," at Burlington.

Price, Enoch. 1828 clk. "Illinois," at Burlington.

Price, H. 1853 capt. "Garden City," at St. Louis.

Priest, —. July, 1856 clk. "Galena," at Wyalusing.

Pyatte, Larkin L. July 1, 1858 engr. "Galena," when she burned at Red Wing.

Pym, John S. Clk. in Minnesota Packet Company; 1845 clk. "Lynx," at Burlington; 1857 clk. "Grey Eagle," at St. Paul.

Radebaugh, George. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company; 1857 on "Northern Light."

Rambo, Joseph. Engr. on upper river.

Randall, George. Early raft pilot St. Croix River.

Randolph, W. L. July 6, 1842 on "Annawan."

Rawlins, John. 1855–56 capt. and owner "North Star," running

above Falls of St. Anthony; 1857 capt. "Governor Ramsey;" also running above falls.

Raymond, D. F. 1848 clk. "Mondiana."

Redlington, John. 1874 clk. "Willie Wilson," at Galena.

Reed, William. 1833 on "Express."

Reeder, C. T. May, 1856 clk. "Diamond," at Wyalusing.

Reid, J. 1856 capt. "Brazil;" 1874 capt. "Willie Wilson," at Galena.

Reilly, E. I. February, 1843 clk. "Lynx."

Reilly, Robert A. 1843 clk. "Chippewa;" 1844–45 capt. "Mendota;" 1846 capt. "Atlas," at St. Paul; 1849 capt. "Minnesota," at St. Paul; 1845 capt. and owner "Wiota."

Reno, —. 1857 capt. "Sam Young," at St. Paul.

Repplin, —. November, 1841 clk. "Ariel."

Reynolds, T. Otis. 1833 capt. "Chian," at Davenport.

Ring, W. B. Sept. 9, 1851 on "Oswego," at Burlington.

Rissue, George. 1855–57 capt. and owner "Kentucky No. 2;" lived on banks of Lake St. Croix above Prescott, where he ran a lime-kiln, the products of which he boated to St. Paul; 1857 lost his boat, cut down by ice, and sunk at foot of Prescott Island.

Ritchey, L. K. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company.

Rhodes, J. B. May, 1857 clk. "Metropolitan," at St. Louis; 1858 capt. "Lucie May;" 1860-61 capt. "W. L. Ewing."

Rhodes, L. B. 1853 capt. "Martha;" later second president St. Louis Packet Company.

Rhodes, Thomas B. 1854 capt. "Grey Cloud;" 1857-59 capt. "Metropolitan;" afterwards president of Northern Line.

Roatt, V. K. 1851 on "Wyoming," at Burlington.

Robbins, R. M. 1857 clk. "Editor," at Wyalusing.

Robert, John O. 1854 capt. "Greek Slave." Brother of Louis and Nelson.

Robert, Louis. Frenchman—a noted character on the river; 1855–57 capt. and owner "Time and Tide;" 1857–58 capt. and owner "Jeanette Roberts," both boats running on Minnesota River; 1852–53 capt. "Greek Slave," Galena to St. Paul; invested heavily in real estate in St. Paul, and at time of his death in St. Paul in the 80's was very wealthy.

Robert, Nelson. Brother of preceding; 1859 capt. "Time and Tide," running on Minnesota River; lived in St. Paul.

Robinson, A. A. 1857 on "Denmark."

Robinson, John. 1856 capt. "Tishomingo;" 1861 capt. "Denmark," at St. Paul.

Roe, N. C. June, 1858 capt. "Envoy," at La Crosse.

Rogers, Charles H. May 18, 1836 capt. "Galenian," at Galena; 1843 capt. "Sarah Ann;" 1846 capt. "Bertrand" and "Raritan."

Roosevelt, William A. Dec. 3, 1856 engr. "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Ross, Charles. 1843 clk. "St. Louis Oak," at Burlington.

Rounds, —. 1857 capt. "Rosalie," at St. Paul.

Rowe, —. 1856 capt. "Hamburg," at St. Paul.

Rowley, —. 1857 capt. "Commerce," at St. Paul.

Ruley, Russell. Lived at Prescott; 1856 mate "Kate Cassell;" 1858 mate "Equator;" later on "H. S. Allen" and other boats on the St. Croix River, and capt. on Mississippi River; murdered near Red Wing, and body sunk in North Channel.

Ryan, George. 1857 engr. "Hope No. 2."

Saltmarsh, —. 1840 capt. "Indian Queen," at Galena.

Sanderson, —. Capt. in Davidson Line; 1868–69 on "Benjamin McCulloch," was taken with cholera, and turning his boat over to his pilot, Peter Hall, requested that he be buried on the head of Hickory Island, below Keokuk; he died within an hour; Hall buried him according to orders, and reported to the owners of the boat: "I obeyed his order, and by the light of the silvery moon I planted him on the head of that island." His grave was an object of interest to river men for many years before the floods washed it away.

Sargent, G. L. 1850 engr. "Yankee," at St. Paul.

Scott, George W. 1850 engr. "Yankee," at St. Paul.

Scott, John. 1857 capt. "Golden Era" and "Golden State;" 1858 capt. "Ocean Wave;" 1859 capt. "General Pike," at La Crosse.

Segers, John. Born 1834 in Bangor, Me.; 1853 began piloting on Minnesota River; later capt. on Mississippi and Minnesota rivers; went to Canada and ran on Saskatchewan River; was one of four captains chosen by the British government to go to the Nile at the time of the Gordon relief expedition, where he distinguished himself by extraordinary service; on returning from Egypt took part in putting down the Riel rebellion, commanding a boat which he piloted through the engagement; ninety bullets were found in the hay bales with which the pilot-house was barricaded; then went into service with the Hudson Bay Company and piloted boats on the far northern rivers and lakes; later went to the Yukon, where for five years he was capt. between Dawson and St. Michaels; in 1903 built the "Quickstep," which was caught by a tidal wave and landed on top of a warehouse in the city of Nome, by which he lost the savings of years; died April 17, 1909, at Rossland, B. C.

Sencerbox, —. 1863 capt. "Æolian;" commanded several other boats in the Davidson Line.

Shellcross, John. 1823 capt. "Virginia," from Pittsburgh, the first steamboat which reached Fort Snelling in the spring of that year with stores for the fort; 1829 capt. "Lady Washington," at Galena.

Shepherd, J. C. July 18, 1841 clk. "Little Red," at Burlington.

Shiples, P. 1864 clk. "Charles Rodgers," at Galena.

Short, George L. Well-known river pilot, adjudged insane and sent (1908) to Mendota Hospital from La Crosse.

Shovlin, Con. 1859 deck-hand "Fanny Harris;" 1861 second mate "Fanny Harris."

Sire, Joseph. 1840 capt. "Omega," at Galena; went into Missouri River trade, where he became well known, and very successful.

Sloan, —. 1857 capt. "Lake City," at St. Paul.

Smith, E. D. 1853 capt. and owner "Berlin," at La Crosse.

Smith, Henry. Mate in Diamond Jo Line; 1868 mate "John C. Gault," at McGregor.

Smith, I. G. May 11, 1858 clk. "Envoy," at La Crosse.

Smith, J. F. 1854-55 capt. "Editor," at St. Paul; 1856 capt. "William L. Ewing," at Wyalusing; 1857 capt. "Royal Arch."

Smith, J. P. Mate in Diamond Jo Line.

Smith, Jerome. 1854 pilot "Lady Franklin" when sunk in collision with "Galena" at foot of Maquoketa Chute; was on watch at the time; left the river and never returned.

Smith, John C. 1846 capt. "Tempest," at Galena; 1848 capt. "Mary Blane," at Galena.

Smith, John E. From Pennsylvania; lived at Le Claire, Iowa; 1853 capt. "Alice," at St. Paul; 1856 capt. "Royal Arch;" was pilot on both rapids, and during the suit between the railroad and the steamboatmen over the location of the Rock Island bridge, took the part of the railroad company, and handled a boat for them to prove that the bridge was no obstruction, by which he lost caste among river men and was forced to leave the river for several years until the feeling died out, as no captain would employ him to pilot his boat.

Smith, Orrin. Son of preceding, rapids pilot on both rapids for many years; still on duty, living at Le Claire, Iowa; has a great fund of anecdotes relating to river men with whom he has associated for the past forty years.

Smith, Orrin Sr. 1853 capt. and owner "Heroine;" 1836-37 capt. "Missouri Fulton;" 1838 and 1842 capt. "Brazil;" 1849 capt. "Senator" and "Nominee;" 1850–51 capt. "Yankee" and "Senator;" was a very devout churchman, and would not run his boat from Saturday night at 12 o'clock until 12 o'clock Sunday night, usually holding a service on the boat, often reading the service himself if no minister could be obtained; president of the Minnesota Packet Company for many years.

Smith, Orrin Jr., son of preceding. 1855 clk. "Lady Franklin;" agent Diamond Jo Line at Winona for several years.

Smoker, —. 1836 capt. "Dubuque," at Galena.

Spaulding, L. R. 1863 clk. "Milwaukee."

Spencer, C. T. 1863 clk. "Milwaukee."

Spencer, R. M. 1854 capt. "Sangamon" and "Blackhawk;" 1857 capt. "Fire Canoe" and "Orb."

St. Clifton, A. W. July 20, 1831 clk. "Delaware," at Burlington.

Stanton, Frederick K. 1855 clk. "Hamburg," at Wyalusing.

Starnes, —. 1846 capt. "Mendota," at Galena.

Stephens, John. 1845-46 clk. "Galena."

Stephens, R. C. Many years before the war, pilot in Minnesota Packet Company; then in Northern Line, and later in Diamond Jo Line; was rapids pilot on upper and lower rapids; 1877 on "Diamond Jo" at La Crosse.

Stephenson, Charles L. 1858-60 capt. "Henry Clay;" 1861 capt. "War Eagle;" was appointed supervising inspector of steamboats at St. Paul, and was in office for 20 years or more.

Stewart, —. 1857 clk. "Henry Graff," at Wyalusing.

Stewart, C. P. Dec. 3, 1856 pilot "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Stillwell, M. 1828 running keel-boats on upper river.

Stombs, J. H. 1846–81 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company, Northern, and Diamond Jo lines; 1855–81 lived at La Crosse.

Stone, Philo. Early raft pilot.

Storm, C. S. 1857 clk. "Ocean Wave," at La Crosse; later agent of Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway, at St. Paul.

Stran, H. B. 1857 capt. "Saracen," at St. Paul.

Strode, W. F. Nov. 27, 1847 clk. "Eliza," at Burlington.

Strother, R. M. 1834 and 1836 capt. "Olive Branch," at Galena.

Stuart, Charles P. Nov. 1856 capt. "Ben Coursin," at Winona, with $7,500 freight list, from Dubuque to St. Paul.

Swartout, A. M. 1848 clk. "Kate Kearney."

Taylor, W. H. 1848 clk. "Herald."

Tesson, Frank. Pilot. He learned the river under Daniel Smith Harris, with the Minnesota Packet Company, for many years; 1856 was at wheel of "Lady Franklin" when she struck and sunk at Britt's Landing; died at Alton, Ill.

Terrell, H. C. One of two brothers who were clerks on the river before the war; living (1909) at Lake City, Minn.

Thomas, E. H. Printer and reporter before the war; enlisted and served three years; then went on river as "cub" pilot on "New Boston" and "Keithsburg," between Davenport and Montrose; later learned river to St. Louis and ran as pilot and master until 1885–86 when he retired; is now (1911) postmaster 71 years of age at Ottumwa, Iowa; has written some interesting sketches of river life.

Thompson, Orrin J. 1863 raft pilot; 1869 began "towing through," then went to steamboats; living at Le Claire, Iowa, April, 1911.

Throckmorton, Joseph. Born in 1800; 1828-30, capt. and owner of "Red Rover;" 1830–31 capt., and joint owner with G. W. Atchison, "Winnebago;" 1832-35, capt. and owner "Warrior;" 1836-37 capt. "Burlington;" 1838 capt. "Ariel;" 1839-41 capt. "Malta," sunk in Missouri River; 1842–44 capt. "General Brooke;" 1845–46 capt. "Cecelia;" 1846 built "Cora" at Rock Island, commanded her 1846–48; went into insurance business in St. Louis for several years; ran boats on the Missouri; then in government service; 1872 died in St. Louis having been on the river for more than forty years. While commanding "Warrior," he took part in battle of Bad Axe, in Black Hawk War, August, 1832.

Thurston, —. Capt. and owner "Ariel," which he built at St. Paul.

Tibbals, Charles S. Clerk in Diamond Jo Line for many years; 1911 in business in Dubuque.

Tibbals, Norman E. Pilot between Montrose, Iowa and St. Paul; capt. and pilot car-ferry at Winona, for several years; capt. and pilot transfer boat at Helena, Ark., for ten years; died at Dubuque, 1905.

Tibbals, William R. [See sketch *ante*, p. 98.]

Tipton, David. Pilot. 1820 born on Muskingum River; on Ohio as mate on keel-boats when a mere boy; later, steamboat mate; on Des Moines and Mississippi rivers as special rapids pilot for many years; later on Northwestern Line between St. Louis and St. Paul; after 1873 in government service as pilot and capt.; died at his wheel on snagboat "Colonel A. McKenzie," on Lake Pepin, Sept. 24, 1904, aged 84 years.

Tomlin, —. June 2, 1836 capt. "Heroine," at Dubuque.

Totten, G. B. 1853 clk. "Wisconsin."

Tracy, Charles F. 1847 clk. "Pynx."

Tracy, E. N. July 31, 1843 clk. "Osage."

Tracy, H. W. 1855 clk. "Galena," at Wyalusing.

Tripp, Harry. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company for several years; 1861 took Tom Burns's place on "Fanny Harris" when latter left for the war; partner with James Black.

Tromley, George. French Canadian pilot; was with Capt. Humbertson on "Minnesota Belle;" also on "Fire Canoe" and other boats; Walter Blair of Davenport learned the river with him.

Troxell, James. Engr. in Minnesota Packet Company, 1861 chief engr. "War Eagle," at La Crosse.

Troy, —. 1857 capt. "Æolian," at St. Paul.

Truett, —. 1855 capt. "Prairie State," at St. Paul.

Turner, J. M. Capt. and pilot, living (1908) at Lansing, Iowa.

Turner, W. J. 1847 clk. "Revenue Cutter."
Turner, W. J. 1855 engr. from St. Louis.

Unsell, E. J. 1856 on "Minnesota Belle."
Upham, R. H. June, 1856 capt. "Equator," at La Crosse.

Van Dyke, W. W. Clerk, living (1909) at Dubuque.
Van Houten, —. 1836 capt. "Adventure," at Galena; 1837 capt. "Adventure," at Dubuque.
Vickers, —. 1855 capt. "Sam Gaty," at St. Paul.
Vorheis, —. 1855–57 capt. "Laclede," at St. Paul.

Walker, George W. Born 1828 on Ohio River; 1842 cabin boy; engr. for 25 years; served in navy during war; knew "Mark Twain" while on river; living (August, 1911) at Tama, Iowa.
Wall, Nick. 1845 capt. "Monona;" 1846–47 capt. "Prairie Bird," at Galena.
Ward, Frank. 1856 clk. "Excelsior," at Wyalusing; April 14, 1857 clk. "Golden Era;" later in season clk. "Golden State."
Ward, James. Born in Southerly, England, Dec. 1814; learned boat-building in England; 1836 came to Brownsville, Pa., and worked in ship-yard until Sept., 1837, when he went as carpenter on "Fayette;" 1838 at St. Louis working in ship-yard for the season; then carpenter "Ione;" 1843 carpenter "Amaranth;" 1844-47, mate and part owner "St. Croix;" 1848-49 capt. and part owner "St. Peters;" 1850-55 capt. and owner "Excelsior;" 1856 capt. and owner "York State;" 1857 capt. and owner "Canada" and "Conestoga;" 1857 capt. "Conewago" and "Red Wing;" 1858–59 capt. "Red Wing;" 1860 capt. "Canada;" was president of the Northern Line.
Wayman, John. March, 1856, "cub" engr. on Ohio River; licensed engr. and served on Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri; during war, on U. S. gunboat "Monarch;" in foundry and machine business at Plattsmouth, Nebr.; now (1911) at Wyandotte, Mich., aged 74 years.
Webb, L. E. 1857 clk. in Minnesota Packet Company at La Crosse.
Webb, N. F. 1824 capt. "America;" 1856 capt. "Golden State;" 1860–61 capt. "Ocean Wave;" 1862 capt. "War Eagle;" 1868 in government service; for fifty years in continuous service as capt. and pilot.
Webber, Jerry. Minnesota River pilot; 1851 on "Fire Canoe;" 1861 on 'Fanny Harris" on trip up the Minnesota to Fort Ridgeley to bring down Sherman's battery; one of the four pilots selected by the English government for service on the Nile for the relief of Gordon, serving two years; died at St. Paul, Dec. 17, 1908.
Webster, Henry. Engr. on upper river.

Weeks, George S. 1862 built "George S. Weeks" at Savanna, Ill.; superintendent of P. S. Davidson's boat-yard at La Crosse in 1881.

West, Edward A. (Ned). 1857–62 pilot "Key City," with Capt. Jones Worden; with the Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1876 on "Belle of Minnetonka," on Lake Minnetonka, with Capt. W. H. Laughton; with Northern Pacific Railway for a number of years before his death (1904) at St. Paul.

West, Judson T. 1856 pilot "Excelsior;" 1857 on "Royal Arch;" on watch when boat was snagged and sunk at Nine Mile Island, below Dubuque; for many years master and pilot in Davidson Line; 1868 capt. "Phil. Sheridan;" his last boating on "City of Quincy," between St. Louis and New Orleans, when she struck a snag and sunk above Helena, Ark., and became a total loss; died at Hope, Ark.

Whipple, Charles. April 1857 capt. "Eau Claire," from Pittsburgh to Eau Claire; steamer sunk below St. Louis in collision with "South America;" built, owned, and commanded "Jennie Whipple," in Chippewa River trade.

White, —. Nov. 1856 capt. "Falls City," at Wabasha.

White, Hugh. Pilot between St. Louis and Galena; pilot and master on Missouri River for many years before the war; died at St. Louis.

White, S. Owner and master of five keel-boats in the early 20's.

White, William. 1832 pilot "Warrior" at battle of Bad Axe; in Minnesota Packet Company for many years; 1859 on "Grey Eagle."

Whitmore, Henry. 1850-65 engr. in Minnesota Packet Company, chief on "Key City" in the great race with the "Northerner" from Stillwater to Prescott in 1859; one of best engineers on the river.

Whitney, Andrew J. Born in Stow, Mass., Jan. 25, 1828; commenced on river as supt. for Dull & Williams, govt. contractors, 1873; commenced for himself 1879, with str. "Le Claire," and dredges "Lowell" and "Hercules;" built "A. J. Whitney" and "Edith," 1880; built "Nellie" 1883, and "Dick Clyde" 1885; continued in contracting work till 1909, when he retired, after having finished some of the largest dams and shore-protection work on the river between Alton, Ill., and Winona, Minn.; is living (Dec., 1911) at Rock Island, Ill., where he has a beautiful home; Capt. Whitney is an uncle of George B. Merrick. The sounding-pole of the "A. J. Whitney" is in the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Whitney, F. A. Son of A. J.; engr. for more than twenty-five years between St. Louis and St. Paul; living (Dec., 1911) at Cripple Creek, Colo.

Whitten, David. 1857-61 capt. "Itasca," in Minnesota Packet Company.

Wilcox, Joseph B. Mate and capt. in Diamond Jo Line for many

years; 1859 mate "Fanny Harris;" 1868 capt. "John C. Gault;" 1875–80 capt. "Arkansas;" died in N. Dak. about 1890–95.

Williams, J. B. Dec. 3, 1856 engr. "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Wilson, G. H. 1856 capt. "G. H. Wilson," which he built at La Crosse; Ellis Usher's father was interested with him in building the boat, which sunk in 1863—a total loss.

Wilson, William. Born in Pennsylvania; ran on Ohio River; later on upper Mississippi; 1861 mate "Fanny Harris."

Wood, J. S. 1854 clk. "Dr. Franklin;" 1855 capt. "Greek Slave;" 1860 clk. "Northerner."

Woodburn, —. 1857 capt. "Red Wing," at St. Paul.

Wilcox, "Bull-driver." 1859 second mate "Fanny Harris."

Wilcox, Joseph B. Brother of preceding; 1859 mate "Fanny Harris;" mate and capt. in Diamond Jo Line for several years; 1868 capt. "John C. Gault."

Woodruff, —. 1857 capt. "Atlanta," at St. Paul.

Woods, Jerry. 1867-68 capt. "Bannock City;" capt. of other boats in White Collar Line.

Woodward, Asa B. Upper river pilot and capt. for fifty years; now (Dec., 1911) living at Fort Madison, Iowa.

Worden, Jones. 1855-56 capt. "Fanny Harris;" 1857-62 capt. "Key City;" owned a large interest in each of the above-named boats; lived at Dubuque; later moved to Alton where he died in 1909.

Worsham, H. M. April, 1857 clk. "Adelia," at La Crosse.

Wright, John. Oct. 13, 1857 capt. "Falls City," at La Crosse.

Wright, Sam. F. 1861 engr. "War Eagle," at La Crosse.

Williams, Rufus. Pilot in Minnesota Packet Company in 50's; 1852 pilot "West Newton;" 1853 pilot "Nominee;" shot and killed a man in the 50's at Davenport; escaped from country and went to River Amazon, Brazil, and never returned.

Young, Jesse B. One of four brothers who owned and ran "Enterprise," above St. Anthony Falls; 1859–61 mate "Enterprise."

Young, Josiah. 1859-61 engr. "Enterprise."

Young, Leonard. 1859-61 engr. "Enterprise."

Young, Augustus R. 1859-61 capt. "Enterprise."

Yunker, Stephen. 1867 capt. "Charles Rodgers," at Galena.

An Episode of the War of 1812

By Joseph Ducharme[1]

When the war with England broke out in 1812, John Dousman was the only American citizen in the Green Bay district. He lived at Rapides des Peres[De Pere], had a large distillery, grist mills, and other improvements, and was doing a good business. A few years before, at Mackinac, he had married Miss Rosalie Laborde, and brought her to Green Bay with him, and there their first child, Jane, was born June 17 of this same year.

In the late summer or early autumn a large number of Indians from the West and Southwest collected at Green Bay on their way to Mackinac and Detroit, to take part in the war on the British side. They were in a ferocious mood, inflamed by the massacre at Fort Dearborn and the attacks on pioneer settlers of Illinois. When they learned that Dousman was an American citizen they determined to kill him—it was rumored that they were instigated to this by some of the Green Bay traders who were jealous of Dousman's prosperity.

[1] Joseph was a son of Col. Joseph Ducharme, a well-known character of early Green Bay. The younger man was born on his father's farm in 1810, and lived there until his death, April 18, 1885. In his youth he was a federal mail-carrier between Chicago and Green Bay, traversing the route on foot. In 1860 he wrote a letter to Dr. Lyman C. Draper, then secretary of the Society, in which he embodied, substantially as told here, this account of John and Rosalie Dousman's experiences in the War of 1812–15. The present Editor has appended a few facts concerning Miss Jane Dousman, the child of the narrative. Although this episode has only the authority of oral tradition, all known facts relative to the period go to show its authenticity. See obituary notice of Jane Dousman in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 482, 483; and references in the "Mackinac Register," *Id*, xvii, xix, *passim*.—Ed.

During the night Dousman was warned by some friendly Menominee, who advised him to leave immediately, and offered to escort him safely to Mackinac. He hurriedly took an affectionate farewell of his wife and baby girl, not fearing for them since she had Chippewa blood in her veins, and no Indian would touch a hair of her head. At his door he embarked in a birchbark canoe, and under cover of night with his faithful Indian guards got safely away. He afterwards remarked that this was the most trying event of all his life.

Morning came and with it hordes of strange Indians who surrounded the house and demanded the American. Balked of their prey they began to pillage, carrying away all they valued, burning the mill and distillery, and killing all the cattle. After carousing several days on the property of their intended victim, another diabolical plan entered their heads, to kill the infant child left in their pathway. Her mother hid the child for several days. Once when the Indians searched the house they danced over the room under whose floor in the cellar the child was hidden in charge of her faithful nurse. One cry from the child would have resulted in a cruel and horrible death. Has any person the least idea what Mrs. Dousman suffered in those days, uncertain of her husband's fate, and in such anxiety for her child, seeing on every hand the ruin of their property and loss of all they possessed?

After the Indians had departed for the seat of war, Mrs. Dousman was escorted to Mackinac by her own and her husband's friend, Col. Joseph Ducharme, who then lived some distance below them on Fox River.[2] There she had the happiness of rejoining her husband at the home of his brother Michael.[3]

John Dousman performed faithful services for the Americans throughout the war, and at one time while stationed in Detroit his wife acted as nurse for wounded American soldiers. At the close of the war he was rewarded by the lucrative position of sutler for the troops at Mackinac, a position he kept until 1824, when his health having failed he felt compelled to retire from office. Bethinking himself of his property at Green Bay, he de-

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[2] For a note on Col. Joseph Ducharme, father of the author of this narrative, see *Id*, xix, p. 293, note 22.—Ed.

[3] For a note on Michael Dousman see *Id*, xviii, p. 506, note 42.—Ed.

cided to return thither, and arrived in November of that year. But his health was irretrievably impaired and the next year he died leaving his wife and family in somewhat straitened circumstances.

Mrs. Dousman being well-educated, was soon employed to teach in the Indian mission schools. Upon the removal of the Menominee to Keshena she and her daughters accompanied them, and for more than twenty years lived among them, instructing and Christianizing these tribesmen who had for her a great affection—the whole nation called her "Mother." She on her part had the same affection for the Menominee, always remembering the services they rendered in 1812 to her husband when he was the only American in Green Bay. Her daughter Jane, who so narrowly escaped massacre, lived to carry on her mother's work; after the latter's death she continued her ministrations among the Menominee until increasing infirmity caused her to retire to Green Bay, after a life of self-sacrificing devotion to educating and elevating her Indian friends. She died in 1882.

Recollections of Oneida Indians, 1840-45[1]

By Henry Colman, D. D.

In 1840 my father, the Rev. Henry R. Colman, then a member of Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, decided to come to Wisconsin as a missionary to the Oneida In-

[1] While the Oneida Indians were resident in New York, they were divided into two parties, known as the First Christian and the Pagan. In 1816 Eleazer Williams went among them as missionary, and succeeded in influencing a large number of the Pagan party, which thereupon took the name of Second Christian party. Upon Williams's removal of a large body of Oneida to Wisconsin, the First Christian party were those who accompanied him; the Second Christian party were much opposed to emigration. After Williams's departure a Methodist Episcopal mission was begun among the New York Oneida by Rev. Daniel Barnes. The party whom he influenced was known as the Orchard party, and was an offshoot of the Second Christian party. Later, this group began emigrating to Wisconsin, where in 1832 Rev. John Clark visited them and re-established the Methodist mission. He placed in charge a native local preacher named Daniel Adams, with an Indian girl named Quinney in charge of the school. These young people later married, and continued their missionary work together. In 1834 the Methodist mission received a considerable accession by the removal of another portion of the Orchard party from New York—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 439. They were soon settled at Duck Creek, where a log house had been built for the Adams family. The missionary in charge was named Crawford. In 1837 the Methodist missionary was Daniel Poe, with Ethelinda Lee from Vermont in charge of the girls' school. Then for a year or more the mission was without a missionary, the services being occasionally kept up by Rev. Jesse Halstead, missionary to the Brothertown Indians. The success

HENRY ROOT COLMAN

From a daguerreotype in possession of the family

dians.[2] He was influenced to that decision by his old-time friend, Rev. John Clark, missionary presiding elder in Illinois and Wisconsin, who visited the conference and urged him to this step.

The summer was spent in preparation for the journey. In September we arrived at Green Bay, and very soon after at the mission on Duck Creek, twelve miles southeast of Green Bay and seven west from De Pere. My father had, in his thought, always associated Green Bay and Greenland, so was pleasantly surprised to find everything green, and that frost did not disturb vegetation till late in October.

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of Halstead's ministration led to the building of a church, which was dedicated Jan. 4, 1840, by Rev. Julius Field, superintendent of Wisconsin missions. It was to this church that Rev. Henry R. Colman came that same year as missionary. The Methodist mission among the Oneida is still existing. They have now a neat frame church, an Epworth Hall, and a parsonage—worth in all about $8,000. In 1910 the missionary in charge was Rev. J. S. Whitney. The membership of the church is now about 150, and a small Sunday school is kept up for the children, who upon week-days attend the federal government school.—Ed.

[2] Henry Root Colman was born on a farm in Northampton, N. Y., Oct. 9, 1800. Part of his early years were spent at Sharon, Conn., and later he taught school, marrying in 1823 Livia E. Spier of Northville, N. Y. In 1831 he entered the ministry, and in 1840 was transferred to Wisconsin, where he served seven years as home missionary—five on the Oneida reservation, and two with the Brothertowns (1845–47). During his first year at Duck Creek he was called on to preach at Green Bay. Likewise while among the Brothertowns he visited Fond du Lac, preaching in school-houses and private homes throughout the whole region for ten miles around. In 1849 a building burned in Fond du Lac. The local weekly paper announced that the village had met with a great loss. A conflagration had swept away the court-house, the Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist churches, also the public school-house. The one small building at different hours had done service for all these public gatherings. A throat affection caused Mr. Colman to retire from active ministry, and with the exception of two years at Appleton and nine at Evansville, he resided at Fond du Lac till his death in February, 1895. He was one of the charter trustees of Lawrence College, and aided in choosing its site.

The missionary's family consisted of his wife and four children, Charles L.,[3] Julia,[4] Henry,[5] and Joseph Spier. Elihu[6] was born at the mission in May, 1841. The parsonage was a log house of one room with a bed set, and an attic which we partitioned off with quilts. The house had a board lean-to used as a woodshed, and another covered with siding, containing one good sitting-room and two bedrooms. Around the parsonage were three or four acres of land from which the forest stretched to the east indefinitely. The forest furnished us with fuel and sugar; while the plough land gave us much for the table, and the pasture and meadow kept the cow and horse. A half mile distant on Duck Creek were lumber and grist mills, also a blacksmith shop. Green Bay was our postoffice and market, to

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[3] Charles L. Colman became the head of a large lumber company at La Crosse, where he died in 1901; his son is president of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[4] Julia Colman was one of the students who matriculated at Lawrence College on its opening day, Dec. 12, 1849. She later graduated at Cazenovia Seminary, N. Y., and lived in New York City, being the author of several books, chiefly relating to temperance and hygiene. She died in January, 1909.

[5] Henry Colman, author of this paper, was born in 1834, and thus was but six years old when coming to Wisconsin. He gives these recollections merely as a matter of boyish memory, that cannot claim the reliability of history. He graduated from Lawrence in 1857, was classical tutor there for a year, then entered the Methodist ministry, and is still an honored member of Wisconsin Conference. His wife, Lucinda S. Darling, was a college classmate. In 1863–67 Mr. and Mrs. Colman were principal and preceptress respectively of Evansville Seminary. He was presiding elder of Milwaukee district, and pastor of five of its churches, residing in that city twenty-five years. In 1909, he retired after fifty-one years of active service, and still resides in Milwaukee, occupied in philanthropic and temperance work.—Ed.

[6] Joseph S. and Elihu Colman have been prominent in Wisconsin history. The former was superintendent for many years of the Colman lumber mill at La Crosse, where he still resides.

Elihu was sergeant in the 1st Wisconsin Cavalry, graduated at Lawrence in 1865, and entered the legal profession. He was a member of the assembly for several terms, and for many years federal district attorney for the Eastern district of Wisconsin. He died at Fond du Lac in 1899.

which father drove his pony weekly, taking the children a few times during the five years we spent at this place. This missionary's salary was only $250 per annum, besides the use of the parsonage, the plough land, and the forest. Later, however, father received from the government a grant of $400 for teaching the school.

The Oneida on the reservation were said to number about 1000. Of these the larger portion attended the Episcopal mission, located three miles north of us on the reservation.[7]

The principal highway ran nearly parallel with the creek in a northeast and southwest direction. Along this road each Indian had cleared a portion, some more and some less, of the forest and was supposed to own back to the creek and east to the reservation limits. West of the creek were a few similar claims. I think there were but two frame buildings in the settlement, one owned by Jacob Cornelius, head chief of the Orchard party, and the other by Daniel Bread.[8]

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[7] The Episcopal mission was originally the outcome of the labors of Eleazer Williams; but owing to his eccentricities the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society had sent others to take charge. The mission at Duck Creek was visited in 1834 by Bishop Kemper; for an account thereof see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 438, 439. Later, Rev. Solomon Davis was sent to the charge, and built in 1839 a substantial frame church—see *Ibid*, pp. 505–507, 515. The mission is still maintained, and in 1897 Hobart Church, a beautiful stone structure, was consecrated.

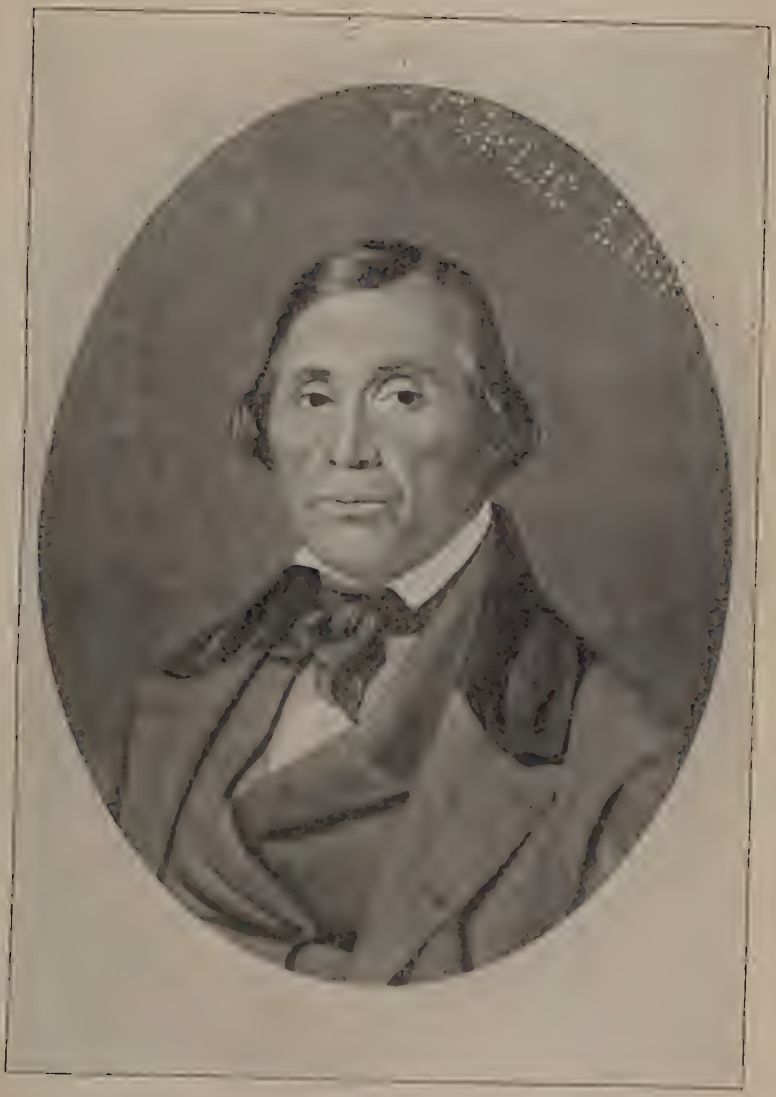
[8] Jacob Cornelius was born in New York state in 1802. He remembered the advent of Eleazer Williams and the conversion of the Pagan party, to which his family belonged. He was head chief of the Orchard party. About 1834 he migrated to Wisconsin, and was one of the prominent chiefs of the Duck Creek settlement, being known as "Big Jake," because of his giant physique. He was a man of much influence and held up a good standard of living to the community. He was still alive in 1877; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 325.

Daniel Bread was born in 1800 at Oneida Castle, N. Y. He participated in the battle of Sandy Creek (1814), removed to Wisconsin in 1828, and was regarded as head chief of the nation. He was long a supporter of Eleazer Williams, but in 1832 definitely broke from the latter's influence. Bread died at Oneida, July 21, 1873. His oil portrait is in the Society's museum.

On a little rise of ground stood the church, a frame building painted white, measuring about 40x60 feet. The pews were made of pine boards, without doors, and unsoftened by cushions. Father preached through an interpreter. This latter functionary was usually William Woodman, who received for his services from the Missionary Society, the munificent sum of $50 per annum. The hymnal used at the services was, I think, in the Mohawk tongue, which the Oneida understood. They were great lovers of harmony and sang beautifully, often employing themselves in writing music by note.

I well recall the appearance of the Sunday morning congregation. The men, who had doffed their blankets and were clad in the garb of American citizens, sat on one side. The women, still in petticoats and blankets, took the other side. The blankets were red or white, such as are now in use upon our beds, while many of the women were wrapped in large pieces of costly broadcloth. The younger women generally sat and walked the highways with their blankets over their heads, so that only one eye could by any chance be seen. The older women in church generally let their blankets fall to their shoulders. Some wore silk hats, with silver bands two inches wide; commonly one band sufficed, yet not unfrequently the hat would be nearly covered with them. These were worn throughout the service. I do not recall that the men indulged in silk hats. The women's skirts were often made of the finest cloth, bordered from one to twelve inches at the bottom with beads sewed to the cloth. The skirts never trailed in the mud, but were short and revealed pantalets of the same material and adornment.

The janitor of the church was Moses Cornelius. He had a well-shaped stick, about four feet in length. If any of the army of village canines crept into the church, old Moses's stick was after him, sermon or no sermon. When Moses's hand reached the dog, he was soon in the open and one strong arm held the dog kicking in the air, while the other plied the rod, whether the door was open or shut. Occasionally an Indian in church did not escape the arms of Somna (I say Somna, for the old Somnus is too sturdy). Moses's keen eye soon discovered the offender, and the whack of the corrective rod was much more startling than the "amens" of the worshippers. The



DANIEL BREAD

From oil portrait in possession of Wisconsin Historical Society, by Samuel M. Brookes

only waters that the rod of this Moses divided were the tears of anger of the culprit from the tears of laughter of his neighbors. It was whispered that if one came to church with a feeling of somnolency, he sometimes gave the owner of the rod a piece of tobacco to blind his eyes.

Next to the church stood a log school-house, where both boys and girls were taught the elements of education. There my younger brother and I sat on slabs with pegs for legs, and with the Indians were taught reading, writing, and spelling. Some of the youths were quite ambitious to learn the English tongue. One year John Cornelius, son of Chief Jacob, spent the winter in our home in order to perfect himself in our language. He afterwards attended the Episcopal Seminary at Nashotah. Another son, Elijah, attended Lawrence College a few years during the fifties. Henry Cornelius, who I think was a nephew of Jacob, was graduated from the college in 1864 and died nine years later.

Besides his pastoral and teaching duties, the missionary was the adviser-in-chief of the community. He comforted, exhorted, reproved, and upheld his flock, and made them suggestions about farming. Weddings were usually celebrated at the church. After the ceremony the bride went one way to her home, and the groom took the other direction. I remember well the first funeral that occurred after our removal to the reservation. Mrs. Wheelock, an Indian neighbor, with whose two boys my brother and I had mated, died. The coffin was of unstained pine boards, made when needed. The echoes of the hammer fastening on the lid still sound in my ears. After that, father supplied stain for the boards and screws for the lid.

In addition to their agricultural efforts, the Oneida depended largely for their support on wild game. Every winter, companies would be gathered for a hunt of several days. My brother Charles, who was the only one of the family who learned the Oneida language, once joined such a party. In the winter, when provender for stock was scarce, they had recourse to a curious expedient. They would bend down the branches of the great forest trees that grew everywhere on the reservation, and permit the horses and cattle to feed and fatten on the buds. I recall vividly a visit with my father to the home of John Cor-

nelius, brother of Chief Jacob. He was a man of sterling character, who acted as local preacher, and at times taught the people in the absence of the missionary. The snow was very deep, and had forgotten to leave at the usual time, so he was providing for his stock in the manner I have just described.

The greatest misfortune of the Oneida was their lack of self-control. If supplies abounded they were liable to gorge; if short, they fasted. Two men started early one morning for a hunt. Like Napoleon's armies they were to live on the country. As they returned at evening the next day, having taken nothing, one casually said, "I believe I am hungry." "Ugh! you had breakfast before starting and I didn't." was the scornful response. This lack of control made liquor their special curse. When we left in 1845, it was stated that only one adult man had never been drunk, and afterward he yielded to the tempter. Once a white man put up a shack just within the reservation and dispensed liquors. A squad of Indians armed with rifles went to his place, whereupon he suddenly migrated. Some of the better class of the men were, however, provident and accumulated considerable property. A temperance society was formed, and many of our mission members became consistent total abstainers, to the great improvement of both their material and moral conditions.

The Indians had a keen sense of humor. One winter day there came to the parsonage a large fellow who had a fairly good command of English. The Oneida, however, could never pronounce an "r;" when they attempted it, the result was usually an "l." While our visitor was with us, there rode by Louis Rouse, a very tall and corpulent man from Green Bay. With a twinkle in his eye, the Indian remarked to us, "There goes that gleat big Louse."

The Oneida were an independent nation, and dispensed their own justice. One winter a half-breed living on the reservation was accused of killing his three little children. The chiefs consulted their missionary and decided to hold a council in the school-house. After listening to the evidence and debating sufficiently, the guilt was clearly established and the decree of hanging was enacted. The scaffold was erected. A dozen or more of the warriors, garbed in the uniform of soldiers, with

bayonetted rifles borrowed from Fort Howard, acted as guard. Father offered prayer for the soul of the condemned, who was summarily executed. This was the only execution I ever attended.

As time went on, there grew up among the Oneida a Missouri party, who desired to accept the offer of larger tracts of land in that state. A council was held that my brother Charles attended. He reported an eloquent debate. One orator vividly pictured a deer quietly feeding in his native haunts, when the rustle of leaves startles him. He leaps away, the crack of a rifle terrifies him. Far in the dense forest, safe as he thinks from pursuit, he lies down to rest. The tramp, tramp, though so quiet, rouses him. He flees again, but to be followed. So the Oneida had been driven from place to place in the East. Finally they had come to the far West, hoping to be unmolested. But here the white man was crowding them again. He was everywhere. It was useless to flee from him. As a result of this council a few made a journey to the Western state, but most of them afterwards returned to their Green Bay home, and the idea of further emigration was abandoned.

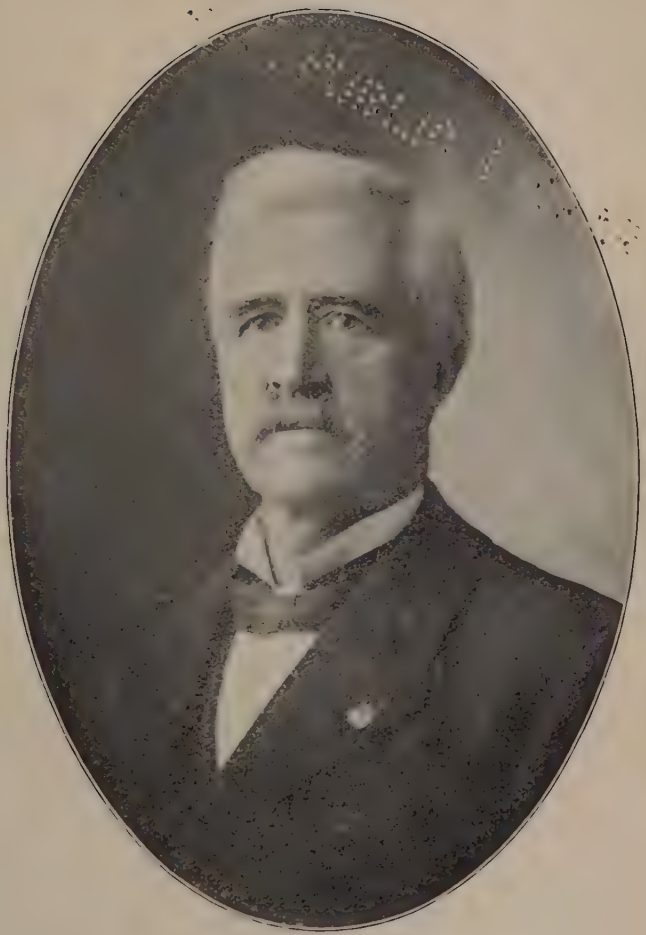
Indians of Manitowoc County[1]

By James Sibree Anderson[2]

At the time of its first permanent occupation by the whites, Manitowoc County was a veritable Indian paradise. It certainly came nearer the ideal "happy hunting ground" than any place of which I have ever heard. Bordering on Lake Michigan, the Indians on calm sunshiny days could go out in their canoes and in shallow water spear the whitefish by the canoeload. The

[1] This paper was originally prepared for the Manitowoc County Historical Society, and entitled "Indians and Indian Remains of Manitowoc County." The portion concerning the Indian remains will be published in the *Wisconsin Archæologist*.—Ed.

[2] James Sibree Anderson was born near Glasgow, Scotland, Christmas day, 1841. He came with his family to Manitowoc in September, 1852, and settled in the town of Kossuth. In April, 1855, he removed to the neighboring city of Manitowoc, of which he has since been a resident. Mr. Anderson enlisted in April, 1861, as a private in Co. A, 5th Wisconsin Infantry, being later promoted to corporal and sergeant. Serving until July, 1864, he was wounded in each of the battles of Golden's Farm, Mine Run, and Spottsylvania Court-house. After an elementary education in private schools in Scotland and the public school of Manitowoc, Mr. Anderson graduated from Lawrence College at Appleton, in 1870. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1871. He has served as police judge and city attorney of Manitowoc for several terms; was assemblyman from Manitowoc County in 1889; and was county judge of Manitowoc County, 1895–1901. Mr. Anderson was editor and proprietor of the Manitowoc *Lake Shore Times* (weekly), 1883–86. He is also well known as a public speaker and writer on literary, historical, and political subjects.—Ed.



James Sibree Anderson

air was darkened in summer by the flight of wild pigeons. If I should describe the immense flocks of these birds that used to pass over this city in flight from their nesting places to feeding grounds, I should scarcely be believed by the present generation. The woods were full of small game. There were many ridges covered with magnificent oak trees, and in these groves squirrels, black and gray, would leap and play without any attempt to hide from the boy who came among them with his gun. Partridges were abundant everywhere. I have stood on the Neshoto River bottoms in the years 1852 and 1853 and had coveys of partridges run around me thicker than the fowls in a farmer's barnyard and nearly as tame. Rabbits were not more numerous then than now, for the foxes kept the number down, and in following the trails through the woods it was common to find traces of a scuffle where some red fox had pounced upon one of these creatures and carried it off. The raccoon was much in evidence and was a nuisance to the settler who attempted to raise a little patch of corn. Wolves also were plenty at times, especially in winter. Of larger game there were many deer. It was not an uncommon occurrence for a settler to stand in his doorway and shoot down a deer trespassing on his little patch of wheat or oats. A black bear would frequently climb over the settler's pig-pen and walk off with a young shoat in his arms.

The Indians could live well here, and I think that according to their mode of life they all did so, although some of their delicacies would now hardly be considered appetizing. I remember one day, in company with a couple of boys, visiting a tepee on Manitowoc River. The Indian was away, but a squaw with a couple of papooses was at home. The camp was a temporary one for the purpose of trapping muskrats along the river from the rapids down. As we sat there, the squaw determined to be hospitable, so fished out a number of muskrat tails from the ashes where they had been baking and passed them out to the youngsters. They broke through the skin which was baked like a shell, and greedily sucked the little bones. We were offered some of these tidbits, but felt compelled to decline.

There are but few Indian place names left in the country: Manitowoc (interpreted as "the place of the spirits"), Mishicott,

Neshoto (the significance of which I do not know),[3] and Memee, which signifies "pigeon." This last was the name of the river flowing through the town of Memee, now rendered into English as Pigeon River.

The Indian villages were nearly always located where a stream emptied into the lake, or by the side of a river where a number of spring brooks emptied into it. The savages had an eye for picturesque locations, as well as for the essential considerations of abundant water and fuel.

The Indians of Manitowoc County, at the time of the advent of the whites (between 1836 and 1846), appear to have been a mixed lot composed of Ottawa, Chippewa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, and a few Menominee who had separated from their tribes and spoke a sort of mongrel Chippewa. The last head chief of the so-called Manitowoc mixed band, was Waumegasako or "The Wampum." I never saw him for he died more than six years before I came to the county; but I have heard much about him from the earlier settlers. They all spoke of him as an honest and just Indian, whose word was good in every way and who was respected everywhere.

The late Andrew E. Elmore of Green Bay, who was an Indian trader among them, knew the old chief and told me that he frequently trusted him for ammunition, blankets, and other supplies for himself and his people in large amounts, and in the spring furs and other goods in payment were always forthcoming. He said, "the chief's guaranty for any of his people was as good as gold." If any were slow or delinquent, a word to the chief brought the offender to the trader's post at once. His portrait in the gallery of the State Historical Society at Madison, is an oil painting by the artist Healy, and represents a man in middle life with a rather pleasing countenance, grave and thoughtful in expression. This picture was painted for Solomon Juneau of Milwaukee, who highly prized the friendship of the old chief. His band had their headquarters near Clark's Mills in the town of Cato, and also a camp more or less per-

[3] For the significance of Manitowoc see Wis. Hist. Society *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 225. Neshoto means "twin"—see Henry E. Legler, "Wisconsin Place Names," in Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences *Transactions*, xiv, p. 31; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 117.—Ed.

WAUMEGASAKO (THE WAMPUM)

From oil portrait in possession of Wisconsin Historical Society, copied by Mark R. Harrison from original by George A. P. Healy

manent, near the rapids. These localities were surrounded by their graves, and many relics of these people have been obtained as the plow has stirred the remains of the dead or the graves have been disturbed by curiosity seekers.

Waumegasako died in his village near Clark's Mills, in the autumn of 1845. His funeral was a great occasion, for he was much beloved by his people and much respected by the whites. The day after his death his body was carried down to the place now called Heinz's Mills, where a sawmill was then located, and the white men there made a plain coffin of pine planks. The whole village had followed, and here for two days his people camped in the woods, chanting their death songs and beating Indian drums. Runners had been sent out to notify the outlying bands, and a very large number congregated, their faces painted in token of grief. They again moved the body down as far as the Leneville farm, near the crossing of the Green Bay and Menasha roads, now called the "Four-Corners," where two days more were spent in like exercises. On the fifth day all that was mortal of the old chief was buried at the rapids on the bluff overlooking the river.[4] After his death there did not seem to be any head chief for the various bands. "They seemed to go to pieces," one of the pioneer settlers said to me. Each village appeared thereafter to have its own chieftain and nothing more.

The chief of the band on Mishicott River, where there was also a planting-ground, had a French name, La Chandelle (The Candle). The English-speaking settlers on the town line road corrupted this into "John Dale." He had rather a bad reputation among the old settlers, was about medium height or rather above, very thickset, and with a sullen, sulky expression of countenance. He was said to have been a Winnebago and to have participated in the massacre in 1812 at Fort Dearborn, Chicago. La Chandelle was much addicted to "fire water," which brought out a fiendish temper and made him very dangerous. In some one of his drunken fights he had been struck in the face with a tomahawk, which had split his nose in two.

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[4] For an account of the dedication of a monument to this chief by the Manitowoc County Historical Society, see Wis. Hist. Society *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 115–117.—Ed.

Bad surgery or no surgery had healed the wound in such a manner that he seemed to have a pair of nasal organs. Altogether he presented a gruesome appearance, was not at all liked, and in fact was somewhat feared.

I came to Manitowoc County with my parents in the month of September, 1852. I was then nearing my twelfth year, just the age for new and strange scenes to make the deepest impression. We settled in what is now the town of Kossuth, just about two miles from the Indian village on Neshoto River. When I ceased to have that apprehension of the Indians that was natural to a city-bred boy, I was much interested in our barbaric neighbors and closely observed their habits and mode of life. The chief of the village on the Neshoto was called Katoose, the significance of which name I do not know. I recall that some of the squaws pronounced the name differently, with a gutteral which made it sound like Kitosh. He was tall, with a large frame, very spare in flesh, well past middle life, but with nothing of the decrepitude of age, and was friendly with the whites. I never knew what became of him after a settler entered their planting-ground for a farm, and the band went north.

The planting-grounds of these Indians was on the river bottoms on the southwest quarter of section 28, township 21, range xxiii east. There they raised large crops of corn, pumpkins, squash, beans, and some potatoes. During the autumn of 1852 and the summers of 1853–54 I made many visits to the planting-grounds, as the Indian village was called.

I was the proud possessor of an old single-barreled shotgun, and the Indian boys were wild with joy when I gave them a chance to shoot with it, for these youngsters were allowed to practise only with bows and arrows, with which primitive weapons many of them were quite expert. I used to get into an Indian canoe with three or four of them, and if I gave one of them my gun and let him sit in the bow waiting for a chance to fire into a flock of ducks, he put on more airs than the chief himself. Our talk was altogether by signs. I knew no Indian and they no English, but we managed to communicate wonderfully well.

During the late fall and winter the planting-ground was quite deserted, only a few old Indians remaining. Before the snows fell, the red men would pack their ponies with baskets of corn,

their blankets, and tanned deerskins and take the trails to the northern woods: they returned to the planting-ground in early spring, to make maple sugar. On the west side of the river opposite the planting-ground, was a large tract of beautiful sugar maples. The down timber and smaller trees had been used for firewood to boil the sap, and the grove in the spring was as open and grassy as a park. There the ponies would graze and grow fat and sleek after their winter's privation—for the hardy little fellows had no fodder but what they could paw out from under the snow or gnaw from the bark and twigs of the underbrush. Here I first saw maple sugar made. It was not exactly an appetizing sight to see a grimy-looking squaw drag two or three pappooses off a blanket and then calmly strain a lot of sap through it into a kettle, preparatory to boiling.

When the summer came, the bark tepees were taken down and set up again on the bottom lands near the planting-ground. I do not know on what principle or plan the lands to be planted were allotted among the different families; but each family seemed to have its own tract, which the women industriously worked with their hoes throughout the season. Their principal crops were corn and squash, occasionally beans. The squaws would sometimes come to the houses of the settlers and trade some buckskin, or beadwork, or a basket or two for a few seed potatoes. The principal Indian trail from the west to the planting-ground passed just in front of our house, and we had abundant opportunity to see the Indians as they passed to and fro in their spring and fall migrations.

I remember a visit we had from Katoose and some of his followers, and recall the anxious expression of my father and the terrified looks of my mother. It was a dark, rainy night when, just as we were getting ready to go to bed, we heard a scratching at the door and the sound of human voices. My father stepped to the door and against the protest of my mother threw it open. Katoose staggered in, followed closely by a squaw and a couple of young men. Evidently they had been testing "firewater" with considerable frequency. After a time we made out that they had lost a pony, could not find him in the dark, and wanted a light. My father lighted a candle, put it in an old-fashioned square lantern, and he and I went with the Indians

out to the trail, a few rods distant. We found the pony heavily loaded with a large pack, standing quietly in a corner of a Virginia rail fence. He was promptly hauled out and placed on the trail headed towards the planting-ground.

Katoose had noticed the evident fright of my mother, and insisted upon returning to the house with my father. When there he took from his neck a buckskin collar elaborately worked with beads, and insisted upon giving it to the white squaw. Evidently he was determined to do something to placate her and allay her fears. My mother declined the gift, and we finally got him down to his band and they went on in the darkness.

There was an Indian who spent several years in Kossuth township, about whom there was a good deal of mystery. He always camped at a distance from the others—two or three miles away. He was at all times neatly dressed in a full suit of buckskin—hunting shirt, leggings, and moccasins. He was tall and well formed, with fine features, and a frank, open countenance. He was the first Indian to come to our log house after we got settled on our land. He told my mother that he was camped not far away, that his squaw was sick, and he asked her to give him ten pounds of flour and in return he would soon bring her some venison. As my mother considered herself entirely at his mercy he got the flour, but she had no expectation of seeing him again. About ten days after there was a light fall of snow, and next day he came to the house bringing the bag in which he had carried away the flour, and with it a quarter of excellent venison. He asked the privilege of bringing us venison in exchange for flour or corn meal, and did so several times.

This Indian spoke excellent English. He ate dinner or supper with us a number of times, and his table manners were better than most of the white men around us. He told us his name was John Williams. Across his breast he wore diagonally a broad black leather belt, at the end of which was a large sheath-knife. This belt was thickly studded with brass buttons, and the early settlers of Kossuth bestowed on him the name "John Buttons." He never spoke of his past, but it was quite evident that at some period of his life he had lived in close intimacy with the whites.

There was a large Indian gathering at the Neshoto planting-

ground in the early autumn of 1853. I do not know what the occasion was; but judging from my recollections I should say there were between four and five hundred present. All were in full dress, with faces painted a variety of colors, most of them with conspicuous black marks. One night I went with some of the settlers and witnessed a great dance. A huge fire was built on a level piece of ground near the river and the Indians sat around it in a large circle. It was rather a weird sight. The young men gathered in a long line and danced around the fire to the beating of drums and the chanting of the women and older men. These drums were crude affairs. The largest one was made from the shell of a hollow basswood tree, over which was stretched a fresh-dried deerskin. The smaller ones were made in all kinds of shapes. Several were paint kegs, such as white lead used to be shipped in, over which were drawn raw hides that were tightened by twisted cords which crossed the bottom. The high, shrill treble of the squaws mingled with the hoarse bass voices of the men as they yelled and danced, and to me, who was a newcomer and had been used only to city life, it was an exciting scene. I sat on the edge of the circle near a very old man who apparently was too feeble to take part in the violent dancing. But he seemed to be recalling the warlike traditions of his tribe; his eyes would flash and his voice grow strong as he rolled out the gutteral notes of the chant. This large band stayed about a week at the planting-ground, and then dissolved, scattering to the woods north and west. I have sometimes thought it was a farewell to the old place, for they never came back, save in small groups.

I recall another Indian dance near Hayton, in Calumet County, at which I was present about a year before the War of Secession broke out. Some of the young white men in the locality stated to me that there was a corn dance by the Indians a short distance out, and proposed that we should go. This dance was more like a dance than the one I have described above. The squaws arranged themselves in a long line and danced by moving their toes and heels alternately to the right or left, never lifting their feet from the ground. They would shuffle along sidewise for a distance, when a signal would be given and the motion reversed, and then they would shuffle slowly back, the men meanwhile

dancing around them in a long oval or circle. There was the usual beating of tom-toms and drums, characteristic of all Indian dances, and the same chanting and yelling. I have been told that the corn dance is the only one in which the women took part as dancers. As they performed all the labor of raising the corn, no doubt it seemed fair to let them have a little of the fun arising from it. At intervals one of the Indians would pass around with a hat, and it seemed to be a feature of the dance that a good liberal collection was expected from the white spectators. As I understood it, the corn dance was an expression of rejoicing and gratitude for the good harvest of corn which the Great Spirit had sent to the tribe.

These Indians belonged to a small band (forty or fifty all told) having a village on the upper reaches of Manitowoc River near the line between Manitowoc and Calumet counties. Some of the young squaws were quite good looking, clean, and neatly dressed as they stood in the line to dance. All were evidently in their best attire, wearing all their treasures of bead work and occasional bits of ribbon. I never knew the name of the chief who headed this band, and never saw him, except on the occasion of the corn dance I have just described. They seldom came to Manitowoc, but did their trading towards Chilton and Fond du Lac.

During the period between 1850 to 1860 the Indians came frequently to Manitowoc in large numbers to trade. They used to camp around the store of Col. Peleg Glover, at the corner of York and Sixth streets. Glover was an old Indian trader and could talk with them in their own language, consequently he received a large amount of their trade in furs and other Indian products. In the fall of 1858 or 1859, a large number of Indians came to Manitowoc in canoes along the lake from the north. My impression is that these were Menominee. Some of their canoes were models of beauty, and quite large—made of cedar frames covered with birch bark, about fifty feet long and eight feet beam, with a carrying capacity of two or three tons, besides their crew of paddlers. They brought fish-oil, furs, baskets, and other things which they traded at Glover's store; and they carried back with them a large amount of store goods in exchange—blankets, pieces of calico, ammunition, knives, and other useful

articles. It was a picturesque sight when they started on their homeward journey, paddling their large fleet of canoes over the smooth lake in the morning sunshine. That was the last great band of Indians that visited Manitowoc. Never since have we seen so many at one time.

Oshkosh, Menominee Sachem

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

Had a chance traveller by Indian canoe tarried here, upon this curving shore, seventy-five years ago today, to rest him from the iterating labor of the paddle, he would have witnessed a spectacle in some respects like unto this, but in other regards as different as is white man's civilization from the barbarism of the aborigine. Before him the sunlit waters of Lake Winnebago would, as now, have musically lapped the stony beach. But behind him the landscape would have presented no such scene as our eyes behold—block on block, square mile abutting square mile, all crowded with the prosperous homes and costly public edifices of the paleface. Rather, the primeval forest, stretching dark and dense to the setting sun, save where winding rivers and sylvan lakes broke the monotony of the woodland and served as the chief highways for men.

For the wilderness was not wholly uninhabited. Far down the picturesque valley of the lower Fox—mostly at Green Bay, De Pere, and Kaukauna—a sparse white population was maintaining a slender foothold upon the river's brim. Their interests were mainly concerned with the Indian fur-trade, which two centuries before had been inaugurated upon these waters by our first French explorer, Jean Nicolet. An outpost of this far-reaching commerce had, quite early in the nineteenth century, been established at the village of Grand Butte des Morts by Jacques Porlier and Augustin Grignon. A rival, in a much

[1] Address at unveiling of heroic bronze statue of Oshkosh, in North Park of that city, June 21, 1911. The statue is the work of Chevalier Gætano Trentanove of Florence, Italy, and was given to the city of Oshkosh by Col. John Hicks.

OSHKOSH

Photograph of bronze statue by Chevalier Gætano Trentanove, in North Park, Oshkosh

smaller way, was Robert Grignon's trading house and planting-ground, not far from your present cemetery. Charles Grignon cultivated a few acres at Jackson's Point, within the city limits of today; and James Knaggs, a Potawatomi half-breed ferryman, was domiciled on the south side of Fox River, opposite Coon's Point.

But the rude and meagre establishments of Knaggs and the Grignons, each with its persistent fringe of wigwams, housing Indian relatives and satellites, brought to this locality little that suggested civilization. The principal inhabitants of the region, seventy-five years ago this month of June, were still the aborigines. Here and there, at wide intervals in the greenwood, nestled upon the banks of its waterways, were groups of the conical birchbark huts of the Menominee, or "wild rice eaters."

Early travellers—such as French missionaries, fur-traders, and explorers—have left us in their journals attractive pictures of these barbaric tribesmen who held the land where once had dwelt the treacherous and swarthy Winnebago, name-givers to this county and this lake. Those narratives of old tell us that the Menominee was tall, vigorous, agile, lithe. They record that his unusual stature and fine proportions made him a marked man amid the other Algonquians of the Old Northwest. Like one of the great pines of his habitat, he towered above his fellows in size and symmetry.

Besides his physical traits, the Menominee possessed others that commanded the attention of the early whites. Many tribes were treacherous, and played fast and loose with the newcomers; but the Menominee had some rudiments of constancy and faithfulness. When the white stranger came, bearing in his hands thunder and lightning drawn from the skies—for such was the first aboriginal interpretation of firearms—the Menominee gave his allegiance to these wonderful beings; and although this allegiance occasionally lapsed, it was on the whole maintained to the end.

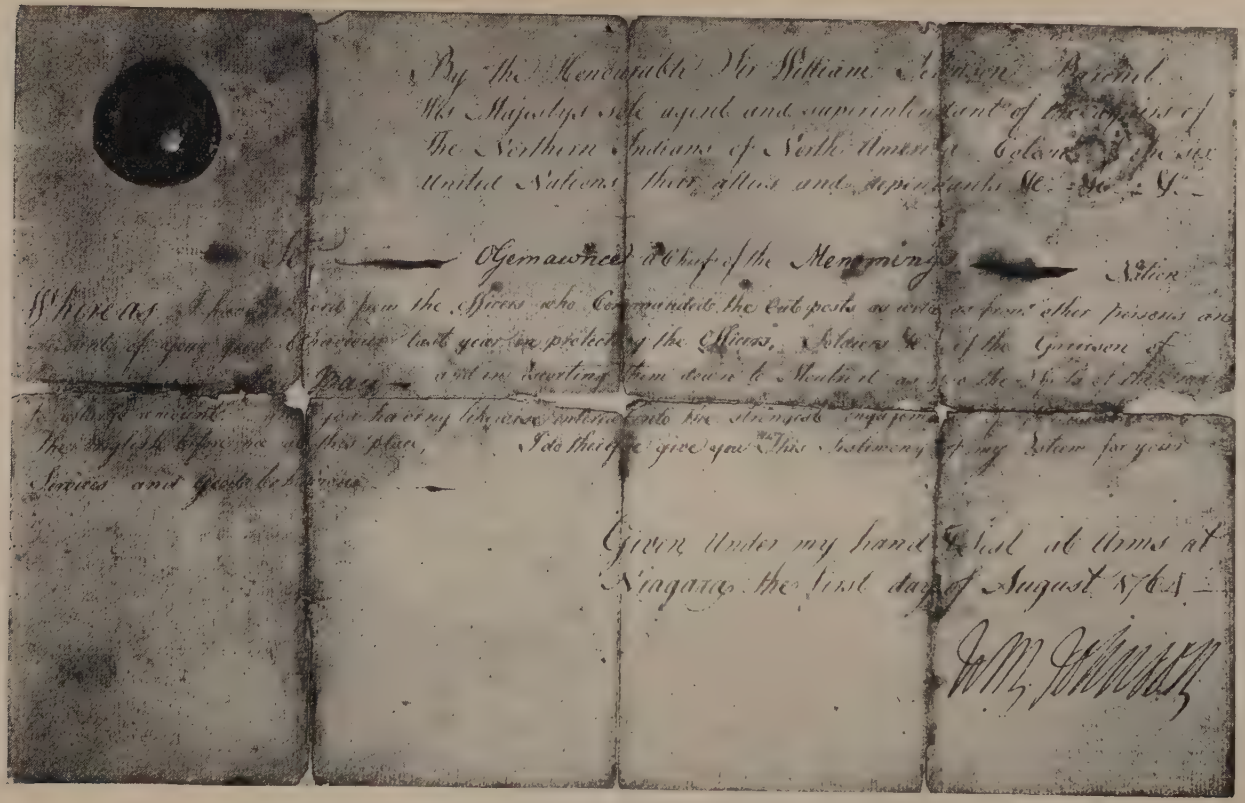
Twelve years before the beginning of our Revolutionary War, France yielded to England the possession of the vast interior of the North American continent. Most of the Western tribes were then marshalled under Pontiac's masterly lead. They rose against the new and hated power, spurned its gifts, burned its

forts, and massacred its garrisons. The little handful of troops in the English fort at Green Bay stood in momentary expectation of meeting with the same disaster that had made slaughter pens of Detroit and Mackinac. The faithful Menominee alone saved them from such a horror.

In the archives of the State Historical Society, at Madison, is preserved this time-stained certificate, which I hold in my hand. It was given in 1764 by Sir William Johnson, then the principal British Indian agent in America, to Ogemawnee, head chief of the Menominee. Herein, we read that Sir William testifies to the honor and fidelity of that rude leader of the forest hamlets. This historical document connects us closely with the present moment; for Ogemawnee was a direct ancestor of Oshkosh, whose delineation in enduring bronze is henceforth to grace this charming shore.

Again, fourteen years later (in 1778), the grandfather of Oshkosh, "Old King" Chawanon, received a similar testimonial (but bi-lingual, in French and English), signed by a still more important personage—no less than General Frederick Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada. This document, also, is safely treasured in the archives of the State Historical Society, but has been brought here that you all may see it. These two papers are the ties that bind your city's name-giver to the historic past: they should assure to the memory of the man Oshkosh your most kindly consideration.

I have said that seventy-five years ago today, this point of land hereabout was in great measure in the stage of primitive simplicity. For two hundred years the Menominee had been in more or less contact with Frenchmen—a sympathetic, light-hearted race, who had married into their forest clans and fathered a numerous half-breed progeny. During these two centuries the tribesmen had noticeably dwindled both in stature and in importance. They had taken on a few of the desirable habits of civilization, but they had also acquired many of its failings, diseases, and vices. They now seldom dressed in the skins of wild animals and depended on the French fur-trader for their clothes, their weapons, and their tools; and "fire-water" was making havoc in their ranks. Nevertheless, their deterioration under French influence had been slow, and the summer of 1836



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S CERTIFICATE TO OGEMAWNEE

Dated at Niagara, August 1, 1764. Reduced facsimile of original in Wisconsin Historical Library

found them still retaining some semblance of their primitive life, and possessing much of their old-time dignity and virtue.

Such their condition, when in July of that year appeared among them, unheralded, the first Anglo-Saxon settler in this Arcadia, a Connecticut carpenter named Webster Stanley. Arriving from the lower Fox, together with his family and household goods, all snugly stowed in a capacious "Durham" boat, Stanley confidently beached his craft on the banks of Coon's Point. Rearing a primitive house of logs and wattles, he there and then founded the settlement which in three-quarters of a century has expanded into this beautiful and ambitious centre of industrial prosperity and power.

Contentedly whiling life away in their waterside villages of bark, even the soothsaying medicine men of the Menominee failed to foresee the fate that was speedily to overtake them. They knew not that their hunting and fishing grounds were soon to be parcelled out among the thousands of eager, pushing, land-hungry agricultural pioneers who followed in the wake of the adventurous Stanleys. Neither did they realize that their degradation also, would now be more rapid than before—for Stanley's tiny settlement lay on the far Western frontier of American occupation.

The frontier of every growing land is peopled by two classes —the boldest and the best of their race, side by side with the most worthless. When the aborigine first comes in contact with the civilization of the border, especially if the borderers be Anglo-Saxons, he is apt to become the prey of the baser, more aggressive element, and to be untouched by the virtues of the noblest of the pioneers. This is why our race quickly brings to any less-developed people little else than injustice, ignominy, and disgrace. The partial decadence suffered by the Menominee from their two centuries of experience with the French, was now rapidly hastened by the heartless and often supercilious indifference of our own ancestors. From being known by novelists and poets as the "noble red man of the forest," the aborigine became the pest of the American frontiersman, whose motto has ever been, "The only good Indian is the dead Indian."

This Americanized degradation of the Menominee had well begun, when (in 1840) the hamlet founded by Stanley attained

its fourth anniversary. The settlers were clamoring for a post-office, and a postoffice must have a name. "Athens" had its advocates. Indeed, the weekly newspaper at Green Bay had already given this title to the new settlement at the junction of the upper Fox River and Lake Winnebago. But the Menominee and not the Greeks were the neighbors of the pioneers. The custom of the Indians was eagerly sought at this point, which now was a commercial rival to the old French-American fur-trading post at Butte des Morts. Moreover, the red men still out-numbered the whites, and were able to give trouble if stirred by such desire. These various politic reasons of trade and diplomacy caused Stanley and his fellows, at a popular election, to reject the oft-used name of the ancient capital of Greece, and in its stead to adopt for their little village the virile and euphoneous title of the head sachem of the Menominee. This choice of the settlers made Oshkosh immortal.

There are no Boswells in the camps of savage chiefs. Such knowledge of Oshkosh as we have, comes mainly from chance allusions to him found in letters, journals, and other documents left to us by the white men of his day and region. We know that he was born in 1795 at one of the tribal hunting camps on Wisconsin River, and that his grandfather was "Old King" Chawanon, whose friendship to the British was attested by General Haldimand. We know that Oshkosh, as a youth of seventeen, was one of Chief Tomah's fighting band, allies of the British in the War of 1812; and that in the expedition which captured Mackinac from the Americans, the young warrior's prowess was rewarded with the name by which we call him, signifying "brave." We know that in 1827, after the death of the "Old King," American officials of the Indian department chose Oshkosh, then thirty-two years old, as head-chief or "grand sachem" of the Menominee. In token of their selection, they placed upon his breast a medal of honor, upon which two clasped hands typified the friendship existing between the Menominee and the Great Father at Washington.

Five years after this event, and four years before the arrival of Stanley, Oshkosh had served with the Americans in the Black Hawk War. After this, the chieftain does not frequently appear upon the official records. Now and then he "touched the

quill'' in treaties with our government. But after he retired to the reservation set apart for his tribe on the upper waters of Wolf River, his career was insignificant. Like many another of his people, he fell a victim to the intoxicants brought by white men to curse the simple people of the forest. Our last sad glimpse of this primitive ruler is during a tribal brawl near Keshena, in 1858, which resulted in his death. Thus in degradation departed the grand sachem of the Menominee. Viewed, however, from the standards of barbarism, Oshkosh was, at his best, a man of excellent parts. In physique he was attractive; as a warrior, he commanded the respect of a community of fighters; he easily led in councils where the arts of debate had been cultivated, and where oratory was brought to high perfection. Wisely has the brilliant sculptor, from whose work the veil has now been lifted, chosen to represent Oshkosh in his prime. It is the full height of his strength, not his senility, that we should care to perpetuate. In a sense, the statue represents an idealized Oshkosh; but the aim of the artist is to interpret to us a type of primitive manhood, and in this he has achieved success.

Our fathers came from the Old World to the New to dispossess the aborigine, to ignore him when possible, to push him from his path, to build up our system of life with no regard to his existence. Hence the tragedy of the red man. Weakened by his too intimate association with the debased members of a higher race, and thrust aside by its better representatives, there seemed for him no other recourse than, like poor Oshkosh, to retire to his reservation, to brood on his wrongs, to seek consolation in the cup, to fritter life away.

In passing judgment upon the Indian, it is difficult safely to steer one's bark between the Scylla of sentimentalism, as represented by the novels of Cooper, and the Charybdis of reprobation and disgust, as expressed by the annalists of the border. We may, however, at least acknowledge that the case of the savage merits at this distant day a more charitable view than could possibly be held by our frontier ancestors, who dwelt upon the firing line. With all their faults, the primitive people of the woodland were men and women like ourselves. They had their hopes, their fears, their virtues, and their vices. It is not fair wholly to judge these simple folk, who as yet were in the mere

childhood of human development, by the standard of twentieth-century civilization; in estimating them, we must have clearly in view the ethics of the wilderness, which for centuries had been their environment. Perhaps never will it be possible accurately to balance the one standard against the other. For it is an old, old problem, as to whether the might of intellect always makes right; it has troubled conscientious men ever since those days when civilization first began to supplant barbarism. No human philosophy can solve this riddle. This we know, that the Indian was made to give way because our race needed his land. It is surely not asking too much if, now and then, on occasions such as this, we pause to drop a tear over the unpitying harshness of the transformation, and to ask forbearance toward such a man as we now honor.

This virile statue has been conceived by one coming to us today[2] from a land whose widespread art has greatly beautified the world. It is the gift to the people, made by one of your public-spirited citizens. His generosity is, I am assured, but the outward expression of a sympathetic heart that has been profoundly touched by the pathetic story of that simple forest chieftain whose name will forever be borne by this community, which of itself is so typical in its history and in its ideals of the vigor and progress of our Middle West.

In unveiling this noble and picturesque memorial of Oshkosh the man, and dedicating it to Oshkosh the city, let us realize that it does more than honor an individual. Standing here, beside these glinting waters, yon savage in bronze seems to extend a welcoming hand to the white brother, as man to man; but, with pathos unspeakable, he nevertheless is preparing to retreat and vanish before the economic development of his native land. In this, he fitly represents all of those original Menominee who greeted Stanley on landing from that historic Durham boat, three-quarters of a century ago. In this, he typifies and commemorates the wilderness.

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[2] The sculptor was present at the ceremonies.

The Story of the Twine Binder

By Frank B. Swingle

John F. Appleby was born in the State of New York in 1840. His father went to Wisconsin five years later, and settled upon a farm. As the boy grew, he showed an intense interest in the farm machinery then in use. At a little town named Hart Prairie was a small machine shop, where grain-headers and other machines were made on a small scale by George Esterly, who afterward became a manufacturer of self-binders. At this place young Appleby developed a desire for working at labor-saving farm machinery. Even now, after the lapse of half a century, he is steadily working at his chosen vocation.

During the years just preceding the War of Secession, many American farmers were desirous of increasing their grain areas. The great West was unfolding its rich panorama before the eyes of the nation. Its possibilities appeared boundless. The limitations to the amount of our farm products were but the ability of the farmers to harvest the crop. The reapers had come; but they served only to cut the grain and leave it loose upon the field—farmers still had only the alternatives of stacking it loose or binding it into sheaves by slow and painful hand labor.

Appleby liked neither the slow pace nor its attendant back-breaking process. He dreamed of a binding machine, and in 1858 constructed a knotter—the first ever made that could really tie a knot. That first knotter is now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is almost identical with the ones in use at present, and his original plan for its operation is the same as that which he carried out to final perfection eighteen years later.

The boy had not put his idea into effect when the war opened.

He enlisted and served throughout, and there was little progress in the development of the invention during the following decade. But the need was great and laborers were far too few for the harvest. Some one, some how, must invent an automatic grain-binder or the wheat acreage of the land must still be too small for the necessities of the nation. But the invention of a grain binder was a far greater task than even the making of Whitney's cotton gin. It required an intricate mechanism to compass the tying of twine, and few were willing to believe that such a machine would ever be built.

In the early seventies, harvesters were invented that successfully bound grain bundles with bands of wire. It was thought that this invention would revolutionize the work of harvesting, and all hoped to see a new impetus given to the growing of cereals in America and the world. In 1874, from the little shop at Beloit, Wisconsin, Messrs. Charles H. Parker and Gustavus Stone put out an excellent type of wire binder, planned by Appleby. Soon, however, complaints came in from farmers in districts where the wire binders had been used, telling of thousands of dollars lost by those whose cattle had been killed by the wire swallowed with straw. Explosions in flour mills were also caused by pieces of wire in friction with machinery. These conditions opened the eyes of the Wisconsin men in the shop at Beloit. Thereupon Appleby said that he could invent a twine binder, and Parker and Stone agreed to give him financial backing in his attempt. The essential parts were in working order in less than two months. This was the first complete model of a twine binder that ever tied a knot automatically. The knotter was the same old bird-bill type that he had conceived when a boy, in 1858.

Now remained the task of mounting the binder in such a manner as to receive the cut grain, and the using of power applied from the wheels of the harvester. This took ingenuity almost equal to that which had evolved the knotter. A frame called the U-frame was hit upon; elevators were planned to carry the grain to the binder; packers kept the bundle in shape; the butter formed a square base, and aided the packers in their work; the needle was so shaped as to compress the bundle before tying; the tripping device gauged the size of sheaf; all parts received power from one gear wheel. This complexity of mechanism was ap-

palling in its beginning; but having determined upon the needs of the entire scheme, Appleby carried them out to a perfection that has scarcely been improved upon to this day, except by some of his own minor additions.

He took the machine up into the garret above the shop and worked alone for months. One of the members of the firm grew impatient. He wished to see the result. "Where is Appleby?" he would ask, "and what is he doing?"

One day he went up to the attic to see for himself. The first model lay on the floor, covered with dust. He returned and declared. "Appleby hasn't done a thing." However, the new machine had just been placed in the polishing room. It was finished.

The first machine was given a trial at Beloit in Parker & Stone's rye field, and, as eye witnesses declare, worked perfectly and "cunningly," "not missing a bundle." Parker & Stone secured Appleby's promise to make more that year, and then a war was on between wire and twine as a material for grain bands. With Appleby as superintendent, Parker & Stone made 115 of their machines during the next year (1878). The first twine binder ever disposed of commercially was shipped from this shop to Travis County, Texas, in May 1878. The men who threshed the grain harvested by this machine that year, sent a voluntary statement heartily recommending the work done by the Appleby twine binder. The rivalry began to increase between wire and twine. The larger harvester companies began thoroughly to investigate the question. Gammon & Deering sent experts into the grainfields of Texas and other states northward, as the harvest of 1878 progressed, to watch and give account to them of the success of this Appleby twine binder, with the result that the following season (1879) they began the manufacture of these machines under a license granted by Appleby, Parker, & Stone.

The record of these early twine binders as built and sold by Parker & Stone shows that some of them were in service many years afterward, proving their durability and utility. All of this advance work was accomplished before any other twine binder had succeeded, and before any manufacture of wire binders would concede the superiority of twine over wire for use in grain-binding. But the demands of the farmers and mill men were mandatory, and it was impossible to ignore them. Reports

that crickets and mice ate and loosened most of the twine bands acted as a damper to twine enthusiasts for a season. But time proved that this was only a bogie, which was brought out to frighten the inexperienced into the ranks of the supporters of the wire band. The twine users were finally triumphant, and in three years wire binders were practically swept from the field. Manufacturers all necessarily turned to the Wisconsin men for a way out of their difficulties. Farmers would want thousands of harvesters and it was now plain that they would prefer those that used twine.

There was some difficulty in procuring a proper material for the making of the necessary small, smooth, strong grade of twine; but William Deering bent his personal efforts to the task, after his company had secured of the Wisconsin men the right to manufacture these machines. As a matter of history, the first small shop-right was granted to Messrs. Hoover, Allen & Gamble, of the Excelsior Harvester Works, at Miamisburg, Ohio—William Deering of Chicago having previously recommended the Appleby binder to them. Then Appleby built one each for several firms, and sold licenses to manufacture a limited number at a royalty of six dollars on each machine. The next year (1882) the McCormicks paid $35,000, besides royalties, for the right to manufacture these binders.

The Parker & Stone firm sold out at a good figure, and for many years Appleby worked with the Deering Company. He accords this and other great corporations the highest praise regarding their dealings with him; but, upon their consolidation, he considered that his work with them was done. Although he was receiving a salary of $5,000 per year, he resigned his position to enter upon a field where his efforts were more greatly needed. Probably a million of his automatic binders are now in use each year, and annually they doubtless save a billion dollars to North America alone. Not hands enough to do the work performed by them could possibly be put into the fields.

Mr. Appleby is an indefatigable inventor. He has recently completed a cotton harvesting machine that is pronounced a success by Southern planters. This, he says, provides mankind with an implement that will gather the only remaining large product of the earth now harvested by hand. But nothing can overrate the larger importance of the era ushered in with the advent of the twine binder.

A Visit to Fort Howard in 1836

By Elizabeth Smith Martin[1]

On a chill and blustering May day in 1836 the writer stepped down from the deck of a time-worn steamer, "Thomas Jefferson," to the one solitary wharf that jutted into Fox River at Green Bay. There was not another landing in the long stretch between this borough and Lake Winnebago. As she stepped on the wharf she found herself and party in presence of as motley a crowd as eye ever gazed upon or fertile brain conceived. From the brink of the river we staggered along through a Sahara of

[1] Elizabeth Smith was born in Plattsburgh, N. Y., Dec. 13, 1817, the daughter of Col. Melancthon Smith (died 1818) and Ann Green. In 1836, Elizabeth and her mother came to Green Bay in the company of Dr. and Mrs. William Beaumont. The latter was Mrs. Smith's sister; and Dr. Beaumont (see *post*, note 3) was en route to the federal fort at St. Louis. While the Beaumonts were tarrying in Green Bay, Judge and Mrs. Duane Doty gave a party in honor of them and their young niece. At this gathering, Miss Smith met young Morgan Lewis Martin, then one of the principal citizens of Green Bay—see his "Narrative" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 385 ff.—where he had resided since 1827. Mrs. Smith remained in Green Bay with her brother, Thomas Green, while Elizabeth continued her journey with the Beaumonts to St. Louis. On the way, they visited Col. Zachary Taylor, then commandant of Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien. On July 25, 1837, Mr. Martin and Miss Smith were married at the house of Thomas Green, in the portion of Green Bay then known as Navarino. Mrs. Martin had many interesting experiences in the territorial and early statehood days of Wisconsin, and became personally acquainted with most of the prominent pioneer men and women of our state. She frequently wrote for the press, sketches of her early life. Her death occurred at "Hazelwood," the charming old Martin homestead in Green Bay, June 29, 1902.—Ed.

sand, ankle deep, to the low-browed, snug little hostelry, not a stone's throw from shore, which boasted the patriotic cognomen, "Washington House." Tarrying a while on its front portico, we watched the various groups before us as they jostled against each other in a race up the gang plank, curious to inspect the first sea-craft of the season to arrive in port after a dreary and prolonged winter. First we noticed a group of Indians in grotesque and scanty costumes, faces lined with vermillion and yellow paint, feathers aloft on topknot of braided hair, accompanied by squaws and papooses. Then the French and half-caste voyageurs in tasseled, bright-colored capotes and blanket blouses of divers hues. Nearly as strange in attire, by contrast with the fashions of the outside world, was the dress of many of the citizens. The whole picture with its brilliant coloring deserved to be perpetuated by the deft hand of a cunning artist.

Only a few days' residence was needed to learn that the inner circle of the quaint old French town bore no likeness to the rude crowd at the landing. There floated about the gentle folk within the charmed circle at home, an atmosphere of gentle courtesy and cordial friendliness shown in graceful hospitalities that possessed infinite charm to a stranger. No undue formality nor set rule of etiquette held sway, nor dictation from fashion's whim in dress; neither was there elaborate decoration to set off the delicate, yet sumptuously and generously spread tables for the invited guest. Yet every function had its proper appointments and many a visitor gave verdict that this small borough in its social regime was the product of refined intelligence and domestic skill. Gas or electricity as illuminators were still unknown, but the light from newly-discovered use of spermaceti and the more regal waxen molds glowed out from high-branching candelabra and touched with brightest luster the white, polished metal of tea or coffee service, glittering also, in countless sparks over the sharp facets of dainty cut-glass dishes, heirlooms from some colonial dynasty on the Atlantic coast.

The writer retains a vivid and delightful memory of her first informal call at Fort Howard, which came about at the suggestion of a gallant Virginia gentleman, Judge David Irvin. The judge was a bachelor, somewhat advanced in years, but of a gracious, dignified presence. At the close of a pleasant evening passed

in his company at the little inn at Navarino, the judge proposed for the morrow a row across Fox River to Fort Howard, adding to the polite request a somewhat mystic clause, "Come with me, and I will show you the prettiest of all Wisconsin productions." Such invitations were not unexpected, as the courteous attention from ladies at the fort made obligatory a return visit on the part of the stranger who had been the recipient of the favor. The mystery of this present invitation from a sapient judge lay in the incitement offered.

The June morning selected proved ideal in its tranquil beauty. The broad, picturesque river glided on with a swift undercurrent, its surface calm beneath the summer sunshine. On its west bank lay an unbroken vista of greenest turf, with sprinkling of wild flowers and a few of the primeval pine trees that once covered the entire sandy district. As we seated ourselves in the government barge, generous in size and luxurious in appointment, and watched the steady ply of oar in graceful precision, by the blue-coated, yellow-buttoned soldiers detailed from the fort, the rare combination brought a thrill of enjoyment.

The fort with its high stockade, white in the sunshine, stood on a slightly-elevated plateau that sloped to the shore, while just without the pickets a line of modest cottages stretched southward from the hospital and surgeon's quarters, where dwelt the various employes in military service. After landing we loitered at Capt. Martin Scott's canine town, the kennels of which were as unique and graceful in design as oriental kiosks. Their master was a soldier who rated patriotic duty more than all else, and whose faith in his lucky star never dimmed until the fatal bullet laid him down among the mounds of dead heroes at Molino del Rey.

Our slow pace soon brought us through the sally-port to the parade ground, where stood apart the commodious quarters of the commanding officer, Gen. George S. Brooke. On the south side were ranged the officers' quarters, one and a half stories high, with old-style dormer windows in the roof, and an unbroken veranda extending along the entire line, separated at intervals by frail lattice work and swinging gates, partitions between the various households. On the north side were the plainer barracks, strongly built and comfortable, for soldiers' families.

Our escort, Judge Irvin, gave a vigorous clang with a huge black knocker on the front door of the centre building in the long officers' row, which opened to the visitors the home of one of the youngest, brightest, and most attractive West Pointers, Lieut. Randolph B. Marcy. He acted as pilot to his guests up a narrow stairway, thence to a snug little boudoir, where we found the fascinating objects that had so won the heart of a lonely bachelor. Yet the visit introduced us to no marvel, but simply to a lovely girlish mother, fair and fresh as a white lily, clad in dainty morning gown, while beside her on a small cot lay a very diminutive young woman, whose span of life had not yet covered its first half year. In the rear of the pretty family group stood a respectable Oneida Indian handmaiden, familiarly known to all the country round as "Aunt Polly Doxtater."

As time sped on, bringing transfers of troops to the old fort at Green Bay, our friends of the boudoir were removed to the Eastern world, changed in rank but with the same noble traits and warm friendliness of manner. The handsome lieutenant attained the rank of inspector-general of the United States army and earned renown by his scientific surveys among the Rocky Mountains. The lovely young mother, so gentle and winning, lost nothing of her sweet, unaffected characteristics. Her premature death from accident brought a genuine pang of sorrow to the entire army and to hosts of civilians as well.

The sleeping fairy of our narrative became the honored wife of a famous soldier, Gen. George B. McClellan; while the faithful Indian "bonne," who held an important place in the home circle at Fort Howard, continued for a half century to be well-beloved by all the little children of the village.[2] She never ceased until her dying day to boast of the part she had in training this pretty daughter of the Marcys, ending with the declara-

[2] "Aunt Polly Doxtater" was said to have been of Delaware origin, marrying in 1802 into an Oneida family. She emigrated to Wisconsin in 1833, soon after which her husband died, and she went out to service in Green Bay. In her later life she retired to the Oneida reservation where she died in December, 1882, aged ninety-seven years. She taught herself to read, was an expert seamstress, and acted as nurse and adviser in illness for a large portion of the Green Bay community.—Ed.

tion that "although Mrs. Ellen might be a great lady now, when she was little Nelly at Fort Howard, this old woman toted her on her back, strapped to an Indian board cradle, a broad band holding it tight upon her forehead, and the soldiers had to row us across the river to Green Bay town just as if we had been white folks."

The escort who led us in the pleasant way on that June morning succeeded James Duane Doty as United States territorial judge of Wisconsin, and proved in every respect except one the antipode of his predecessor, for both of them were innate gentlemen. Irvin was spare of form, thin and pallid of face, and had a sparse covering on his head of dull yellow hair, brushed straight back from his forehead, which set off his peculiar facial development in somewhat cadaverous fashion. He came to Wisconsin fully imbued with the dignity of his office and with absorbing devotion to his native state. Aristocratic in lineage, full of almost childish whims and crotchets, yet with a keen sense of humor which gave him a happy vein in story telling, the judge was so stringent an economist that his codes of law were interspersed with lexicons of written recipes to save expense from tailors' bills by mixtures for renewal of old cloth garments. His taste in edibles was epicurean, yet not in the least that of a gourmand, and he made close study of receipt books of culinary art. The one ingredient essential to his equanimity of temper was a roll of fresh untainted butter, which happened to be an article of food impossible to secure in early Green Bay. Firkins came to the little commune from unscrupulous dealers in the Eastern market, the odor of which impregnated the atmosphere even before the kegs were fairly unsealed. When this sort of cargo arrived late in the autumn no redress was possible; and the only relief obtainable came by the friendly good grace of that most capable and thrifty Holland housewife, Madame John Arndt, wife of the Pennsylvania justice of the peace, whose table had always a superlative menu of Dutch concoctions and other excellent edibles.

The judge's passion for horses and dogs was excessive, and it became a kind of local proverb that in order to win a case in his court one must praise his horse "Pedro," and dog "York." Of the dog the writer has naught to say, but Pedro's intelligence

could not be excelled. His training had made him almost human. One of the most ludicrous pictures we ever saw was "Pedro" in a mood of fun. He had learned obedience from simple word of command so that his daily outings from the stable did not need restraint by bridle or rope. We were watching his gymnastic and acrobatic feats with some interest one morning, when a small-sized, lonely pig came trotting down the street. "Pedro" turned on the instant, trotting in the rear of his intended victim. The latter, suspicious of mischief, gave a faint squeal, when "Pedro" seized the mite between his teeth, running quietly along, or prancing around, giving a gentle shake meanwhile, and then dropping the bit of swine quite unharmed, yet half paralyzed by terror. Pedro never relaxed his strict watch and ward and only waited his opportunity. No sooner did the diminutive shoat venture a trot forward, than "Pedro," fully on the alert, with prance and snort of triumph, and in spirit of sheer fun and frolic, would seize, as before, the chubby little animal between his huge jaw, and the shrill squealings from his prisoner seemed to give as exhilarating vivacity to the humorous equine, as music from fife and drum to a soldier. No injurious effect ever seemed to ensue, but the performance entertained the settlers in town then, and many a time thereafter, when Judge Irvin's horse was permitted right-of-way for his varied programme of tricks.

As a lawyer, the judge was honorable and learned. He spent nearly all his time when not holding court, in Virginia, which gave umbrage to the citizens of Green Bay, who petitioned for his removal. This request, however, was not granted until four years later.

The writer met Judge Irvin for the last time in 1837 when he was a guest at the residence of her uncle, Dr. Beaumont, in St. Louis.[3] He had been relieved from duty at Green Bay, was not in strong health, and was suffering, so gossip proclaimed, from a temporary indisposition because of failure to secure the hand

[3] Dr. William Beaumont, native of Maryland, was an army surgeon, who in 1821 came to Mackinac as physician for that post. The next year he attended a young French-Canadian wounded by an accidental discharge of a gun. The wound healed in such fashion that the digestive processes were visible; Dr. Beaumont's careful observations

and heart of a young French maiden in that city, renowned for her personal charm and greater charm of wealth. She was the daughter of Pierre Chouteau,[4] a fur-trader well known by all the pioneer settlers of Green Bay.

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thereupon were published and gave him an international reputation. He was afterwards stationed at Forts Howard and Crawford, retiring from the army in 1839. His death occurred in 1853. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 397.—Ed.

[4] Pierre Chouteau "cadet" (the younger), was born at St. Louis, Jan. 19, 1789. He inherited a fortune, which he increased by skillful management. He was for many years in partnership with Bartholomew Berthold in the fur-trade. In 1820 Chouteau was member of the Missouri constitutional convention, and served in many offices of trust until his death at St. Louis in 1865.—Ed.

A Wagon Journey from Ohio to Wisconsin in 1846

By Sarah Foote[1]

April 14, 1846. Tuesday evening and 'tis to be the last night for us here in our old home in Wellington, Ohio,[2] for all our things are packed and all but what we most need have been sent on by water to Milwaukee. The rest of the things nearly fill a large wagon. Father, Mother, Mary, Sarah, Orlena, Alvin, and Lucy are to ride in the family buggy. Tonight we girls are to stay with our schoolmates, Elvira and Samantha Bradley, whose brother Charlie is going with us to Wisconsin Territory to drive one of the teams.

April 15. Wednesday morning and pleasant. Many of our friends and neighbors gathered to see us off and after the usual exchanges of good wishes, good-byes, and sad farewells we were on our way at 10 o'clock. As we passed the old school-house it

[1] Sarah Foote, afterwards Mrs. S. F. Smith, was one of the six children of Percival Foote, a pioneer of Ohio from New England stock. In 1846 the family decided to remove from Wellington, Ohio, to Wisconsin Territory. Sarah, then a girl in her teens, who had been educated in the country school, determined to keep a diary of her journey, with no purpose beyond preserving the record for her own use. The writing was usually done at night after the fatigue of the day's travel, on "old blue writing paper." Her son says that the manuscript "is perfect in spelling and grammatical expression and remarkably direct and definite in language." The diary was privately printed in 1905 for the benefit of the family.—Ed.

[2] Wellington is in Lorain County, Ohio, about thirty-five miles southwest of Cleveland, a portion of the Western Reserve. In 1840 it was a village of about 800 inhabitants.—Ed.

was the saddest of all leave-takings though a silent one. But we were soon away from home scenes with many new objects claiming our attention so our minds turned from sad thoughts to new and pleasanter ones.

We passed through the centre of Brighton, a small village, the first west of our old home. It has a large white church. We next drove through Clarksfield Hollow, with its fine water privileges and a lively business place. Norwalk came next with its level straight streets, beautiful shade trees—a very pretty village. Here we saw a young buffalo that a man was exhibiting, coming I suppose from somewhere in the great West. We had good roads and pleasant country the rest of the day. At night we stopped at a private house in the town of Richland where we provided our own beds and meals. So here we are the first night twenty-four miles from Wellington, in a room by ourselves containing a stove. We think it is very nice for all of us.

Thursday, April 16. This morning we got an early start. Father paid our host 75 cents for house and stable room. We found good roads excepting three miles near Bellevue village, which were very sandy.

We reached Hamer's Corners at noon and stopped to feed the horses and take lunch. Here we found that one of the wagon tires needed setting, and as there was a blacksmith shop handy Father got it done, while we sat waiting for two hours. The setting of the tire cost 75 cents. We finally got started again, but now found very bad roads, being rough with deep ruts.

After going two or three miles Father noticed something wrong with our buggy, and after examining it said we must all get out as the reach was broken. So we called to Alvin to bring the axe, and while we girls and mother walked on, they fixed the buggy good and strong with some sticks that they cut, and a rope from the wagon. So we did not have a serious breakdown this time. We soon came to Lower Sandusky River, which we crossed on a fine bridge, and then found ourselves on a macadamized road where we had to pay 81 cents toll. After going a mile farther we came to a tavern where we are to spend the night, having travelled thirty-one miles.

April 17. Our tavern bill was one dollar. We set out on a good road, a high turnpike paved with broken stone, but had again to pay 81 cents for toll. We passed today through Perrys-

burgh and Maumee City, and crossed the river of the latter name by a bridge which cost 66½ cents toll. We found bad roads the rest of the way. At night we stopped at a tavern called the "Pennsylvania House," which was a tolerable place.

Saturday, April 18. We paid 75 cents for our fare and all of us felt rather badly, for we had had poor water to drink for a day or two, so different from what we were used to. Soon after starting today we came to two roads, both leading to the same place; the right hand road passed through Cottonwood swamp, and the left led through a worse road, so some one had told us. Others declared the left hand road was better. Finally after a great deal of inquiry we took the right hand road. By following this we reached Michigan state line at noon, and stopped to rest and lunch. Three miles farther on we came to the great swamp and of all the roads we had seen this was the worst. The mud was deep and stiff, except in places where logs were laid across and this made it very rough.

We all walked most of the time, for the travelling was so hard for the horses that we had to stop and rest them very often. The swamp was only five miles in length, but we were nearly all the afternoon getting through. They are commencing to build a turnpike across this place and I hope it will be finished when we go back. After getting two miles out of the swamp we found better roads. We travelled twenty miles today and feel quite tired. We put up for over Sunday at a new tavern and found it quite thickly settled in this part of the country. We find better water here, and all are feeling better than in the morning.

Sunday, April 19. We have enjoyed ourselves very well today. We found first-rate folks and have rested all day. Father has gone to meeting this evening.

Monday, April 20. We are all well this morning and in good spirits. Our tavern bill was ten shillings. We got started at 6 o'clock and found the roads very stony and rutty. A little past noon we passed Devils Lake. One of our wagon wheels now showed signs of collapse. It had already turned inside out, yet we were in hopes to reach Chicago turnpike before it gave out. But about 5 o'clock in the afternoon it smashed down flat, and there we were in the road with the only building in sight an old school-house. So here we concluded to stay over night while Father went on with the broken wheel and buggy to find a

wagon-maker. We found an old stone fireplace in the schoolhouse and in this we cooked our supper, and spread it out on the high benches for tables, using the low ones for seats. Our horses had to stay out doors all night tied to trees. We have gone only twenty miles today.

Tuesday, April 21. We slept uncommonly well, for we were in nobody's way, and had for breakfast pork, potatoes, tea and sugar, and bread. After eating and washing the dishes, while Mother was placing things in order, we girls rambled about the place to find amusement, waiting for Father to return. We found plenty of sassafras growing near by and dug some roots for tea. About 10 o'clock Father came back. He had gone on nine miles the night before to find a wagon shop where he left the broken wheel and then came back a mile to a public house to stay over night. His bill for himself and team was one dollar. In the morning he borrowed a wagon wheel and came back to us and we were soon on our way to the village where we got our wheel fixed. We had to wait over an hour for Father to get the wheel, which cost eighteen shillings for repairs.

We finally started in the afternoon and soon found better roads and country. We now began to see large fields of wheat and beautiful oak openings. These latter looked like large orchards to us. The trees are smaller, with spreading branches, so different from the heavy timber we have been used to seeing. We bought two bushels of oats for 50 cents. We are now stopping for the night at a temperance house, which we have not usually found on our route, and which proves to be a very good place.

Wednesday, April 22. Today we went through Jonesville which is quite a large place.[3] Here we bought two loaves of bread for which we had to pay 25 cents, also a trace chain for 50 cents. Having enquired the way to Coldwater, we set out and passed fine-looking wheat fields, sixty and seventy acres, we were told, in one field. We bought en route a bushel of wheat for 25 cents. At noon we tried our loaves of bread, but found them good for nothing. They looked nice, but were so sour we could not relish

[3] Jonesville is in Hillsdale County, Michigan, and at the time of this journey had been for some years the county seat, which was later removed to Hillsdale.—Ed.

them at all. At Coldwater we bought two bushels of oats for 44 cents. Eight miles farther on brought us to Garey's tavern, which made thirty-three miles we have travelled today. While the others are working I am writing or trying to write about the day's travel. We have a room by ourselves tonight and all find some work to do in fixing up things for continuing the journey.

Thursday, April 23. We got an early start this morning and the first village we came through was Bronson, where we bought sixpence worth of potatoes and inquired for Sturgis Prairie. When we arrived there we found it a very pretty village.[4] Here we saw a few orchards, in which were some very large apple trees. It now began to rain, but we went on twelve miles farther and put up at a public house in White Pigeon. It is a poor place for us, but as it rains hard we are obliged to stay.

Friday, April 24. Our bill was one dollar, and we got started at six o'clock. It is pleasant this morning. For the first time since our start we overtook a family of movers going our way who wanted us to join company; but they could not keep up with us, so we soon left them behind. We came through three villages, but did not ask their names. We bought a bushel of oats for 25 cents, and some crackers and bread for 32 cents. It was good bread, too, this time and we ate it with relish. The next village was Adamsville and then came Edwards Prairie. Here for the first time we were out of sight of trees. It is a handsome village, on a level plain crossed by smooth roads. Here we got two bushels of oats for 40 cents and enquired the way to Bertrand, where we arrived at 7 P. M. and stayed over night at the M. Hargins house.

Saturday, April 25. This morning Charlie Bradley came across an old acquaintance. This is a very good tavern, where we bought more crackers. Today passed about as usual. A little after noon we came to a fork in the road. Some advised us to take one direction and some the other, according to their personal interest, I suppose. The left hand road went through Laporte, Indiana, and the right through Michigan City. Finally after a great deal of disputing on both sides we thought best to

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[4] Bronson is in Branch County, twelve miles west of Coldwater; Sturgis Prairie, now called Sturgis, is in the eastern part of St. Joseph County, and situated on a very fine prairie.—Ed.

take the right-hand road. We passed through Hamilton's Prairie and Springville, a small village where we stopped for the Sabbath.[5]

Sunday, April 26. Here I am sitting up stairs writing. There is no meeting and folks seem to be just amusing themselves in various ways. The place takes its name from a fine spring by the roadside, that gives a seemingly endless supply of water. In this house they are supplied with water by pipes, conducting it into several rooms and also to the barns. We got some papers to send back to our friends in Wellington.

Monday, April 27. We find ourselves well rested and ready to go on. We found this tavern a good place. We had oats of the landlord and our bill was two dollars. We went about eight miles and came to Michigan City. It is a great place for a city! As we entered we noticed a large and elegant dwelling house, desolate and unoccupied. Going on a few rods we came to an old liquor still, in good progress. There seemed to be houses enough for a city, yet very few good ones. Some of them seemed to be nearly buried in sand, which seems to be everywhere.

Soon after passing Michigan City we came to very thick heavy timber where we found some wintergreen berries which were new to us. We picked a good many as we travelled along the road. Finally we came to a tavern built under a very large pine tree, where we stopped to eat our dinner. After resting an hour we went on and found the roads very sandy. We also found plenty of wintergreen berries and had time enough to pick them too, for the sand was to deep that the horses could not go out of a walk.

At about 4 o'clock we came to another fork in the road and as usual we took the right-hand road. But of all the dismal places we had ever seen this was the worst, with a thick forest on one side of the road, and on the other great sandbanks nearly as high as the trees; and to crown all the dismal roar, as it seemed to me, of Lake Michigan could be heard in the distance beyond the sand hills. The roads were so bad we had to change part of the load from the wagon to our buggy. Soon after we had done this we met a man who told us we would soon come to a road turning

[5] Springville is in the northern portion of Laporte County, Indiana.—Ed.

off from the one we were on. But of all the crooks and turns this certainly beat all! The sandbanks grew higher, and the distant though unseen roar of the lake grew louder.

We thought that if we were only on top of the highest bank we might see the great lake, a sight we had long wished for. So while the horses were resting Mary, Orlena, Alvin, and Charlie took a notion to climb the hills for a view. Mary and Orlena mounted the first hill but no lake was to be seen, only higher hills beyond met their gaze, so they turned back. But Alvin and Charlie kept on, yet they got only a far distant and faint view of the lake after all.

After the lake-searchers came back we started on through the sand. We had been told at the last house we passed, that it was nine miles to the next tavern and we thought we could easily get through. But soon after this we were overtaken by a man in a buggy who seemed to know all about the roads. He said it was only three miles to the next public house, and since we had such a heavy load we'd better let some of us ride with him. But we thought not! So off he went and we kept on and on. It grew dark and still no house was in sight. We were sure we had gone three miles and more, so Father left us to rest or go slowly and went on alone to find a house, but he finally came back without seeing anything but the same sand hills, so we concluded to camp out, for it was past 7 o'clock. We made a fire and found some water which we boiled in our iron tea-kettle. For supper we had bread, butter, tea, and sugar. After supper we fixed a bed in the wagon for the boys and one in the buggy for the rest of us, all but Father. He rested in the forward part of the buggy and did not sleep much.

Thursday Apr. 28. We woke early and found ourselves in the sandy woods, tolerably rested considering our beds. As soon as it was daylight we were all up. While we were getting ready to start a number of cows came around us and Father milked a little in a cup for Lucy. We did not stop to eat breakfast, but started off at once and after going two miles came to a good tavern where we bought a good breakfast and were ready between 7 and 8 A. M. to drive on again.

It soon began to rain and continued most of the forenoon; but the afternoon was pleasant and we put up for the night at Spees

and Rays.[6] They tell us here that we shall see Chicago tomorrow. This is a good place and our bill is only 75 cents. Today for the first time we had a fine view of Lake Michigan, riding within three feet of the water. It was a grand sight for us. When we were about three miles from the city it began to rain and the wind blew up real cold. As we could see but little of the city we did not stop. We were greatly disappointed, yet as there was no other way—we had to put up with it. We were however soon out of reach of the city. Now we came upon the worst of roads, muddy deep ruts and no chance to avoid them. It was jerk and jolt, this way and that. We were glad enough when we came to a tavern called the Oplain Higgins tavern,[7] after twenty-six miles of travel.

Thursday, April 30. This is a very pleasant place and as it rained we did not start out till 10 o'clock. We soon found ourselves on an extensive prairie out of sight of timber. We saw no trees of any account for about seven miles until we came to Elk Grove.[8] Beyond this again was a beautiful rolling prairie. At noon we stopped near several bluffs or mounds, some of them being about twenty feet high and all were covered with small stones or pebbles of many shapes and all colors.

Friday, May 1. It rained this morning but we got an early start. On enquiring for Crystal Lake we learned it was eleven miles distant. We expected to find at this place mother's uncle Stephen Bradley and intended to spend Sunday with his family. After crossing Cornish's ferry[9] we came to a fork in the road

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[6] The travellers were proceeding along the Indiana and Michigan state road. The tavern here spoken of was at the old town of Calumet, where Albert Spiers and Samuel Ray were in 1845 two of the seven inhabitants.—Ed.

[7] The travellers passed westward beyond Chicago and stopped at the crossing of the Desplaines, frequently called by early settlers Auxplaines (Oplain). The location of Higgins's tavern was on what was known as Higgins's Road, and stood on the Desplaines River about three miles south of the present village of that name, in what is now Norwood Park township of Cook County.—Ed.

[8] A township in Cook County, west of the Desplaines.—Ed.

[9] Crystal Lake is in the northwestern corner of Algonquin township, McHenry County, Illinois. The village of Algonquin, situated in the

and being told that the left hand road went past Uncle Stephen's and the right one by the village we took the left hand road. Soon after the turn into this road the wagon which went ahead was fast stuck in a mud hole. Father and the boys got some rails from the fence and after prying up the wheels the horses managed to pull the wagon out. We went on to the place where uncle lived and found that the whole family, uncle, a son, and daughter, had lately moved to the village which was four miles farther around. We found them about noon and they were usually well and very glad to see us.

Saturday, May 2. Today we spent recruiting up, washing, baking, etc. This is quite a pleasant place yet there are very few trees in sight. It seems to be a large and level prairie all about us.

Sunday, May 3. This afternoon Mother and Cousin Bradley went with us girls to see the lake, and a pretty lake it is, so clear and still with its white pebbled banks sloping to the water's edge. We gathered a few white shells, and pretty stones. In returning we went through the village burying-ground, a sweet retired place midst a grove of small trees. Cousin Bradley pointed out to us several graves covered by beautiful flowers, placed there by affection's hand. We enjoyed our walk very much and returned just as the sun was hiding behind the hills. It was to me a new and charming sight—a beautiful sunset on the wide and open prairie. I can not describe it nor can I ever forget the sweet thoughts that came into my mind. No words can express them and I'll not try.

Monday, May 4. After bidding our kind friends good-bye we got started about 9 o'clock. We soon after saw ahead of us some movers' wagons and we thought perhaps it was Mr. Grant's teams, and sure enough on coming up with them we were saluted with "Hurrah, Mr. Foote!" Here we were, old neighbors, met in a strange land, so we travelled in company the rest of the day. Just after noon we crossed the line into Wisconsin. About dusk a man came along who wanted to trade his oxen for our horses, but we could not stop there, so we enquired for the next good

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southeastern portion of the same township, where the outlet from Crystal Lake enters Fox River, was first known as Cornish's Ferry, from the residence at the crossing of the river of Dr. A. B. Cornish.—Ed.

stopping place and told him to come on, while we went on about three and a half miles to a tavern.

Tuesday, May 5. Our bill here was 60 cents. The man who had the oxen was here, so this morning after looking over his cattle Father traded the old horses that had been so faithful for five oxen and one cow. Our company of the day before had gone on and now we did not expect to keep up with them. We travelled 10 miles before noon and got to Darien. Here we bought some ammunition, and myself a pair of combs for 15 cents. We went twelve miles farther in the afternoon and stopped at Humphrey's tavern where we bought some corn for 16 cents.[10]

Wednesday, May 6. Our bill was seven shillings. It is rainy this morning and bad roads. We came across Mr. Grant's people who had stopped to pay a visit. About an hour after this it rained hard and we stopped at a private house until 2 o'clock. We then went on to Torrey's hotel. We also passed through Fort Atkinson which is quite a large place; there we bought some tea.[11]

Thursday, May 7. The tavern where we stopped was a good place but the charges were very high—$2.50, almost double former charges. It now rained again but we went on. We were now within ten miles of Watertown. We passed through Asterland[12] and at noon stopped at a small red house and Father asked the woman of the house if she would get us a dinner of bread and milk. She very soon had it ready and a better dinner we had not had since we left home. She thought 25c would pay her for her trouble, which we thought cheap. After going on four miles we got the wagon into an awful mud hole and it took an hour to get it out. Of course we went around with our buggy, so we avoided the worst roads. About a mile farther on we

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[10] For a brief account of the settlement of Darien, Walworth County, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 447, 448. James and Joseph Humphrey were early settlers of Richmond township in the same county.—Ed.

[11] For the early history of Fort Atkinson see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 477; also the Society's *Proceedings*, 1899, pp. 195–201.—Ed.

[12] Aztalan, in Jefferson County, so named because its aboriginal remains were supposed by early investigators to have been survivals of Aztec civilization.—Ed.

stopped for the night at a log house. We have made only fourteen miles today and are yet two miles from Watertown.

Friday, May 8. Our bill here was 75 cents and a good place, too. At Watertown—which is really a large place for this new country—we bought a bushel of corn for 16 cents and four pounds of crackers for our lunch, for 32 cents. We also bought 18 pence worth of oats, and a hundred weight of flour for $2.00. We have been through very pretty country all day. We all think that if it is as good land as this where Uncle John and Henry are, we shall be contented. At night we found no signs of a public house, so enquired at a log house of a man who said he could keep us. We took his word for it and stopped, but when we went into the place we found a hard-looking situation. However, as they said it was some distance to the next house, we concluded to make the best of it and stay here.

Saturday, May 9. After paying the bill which seemed to be greatly needed, we went on, getting a very early start. We were now between forty and fifty miles of Rush Lake, Winnebago County, our destined home, so concluded to leave Alvin and Charles behind with the oxen; while the rest of us pushed on with the horses and buggy as fast as possible, for we did not like to be out over Sunday again. While feeding the horses at noon we saw Baliph Grant, but we soon left them all behind, for we found good roads, mostly level prairie. At a place called Hewitt's we bought some cookies for lunch and they proved to be good ones, too. It was a warm sunny day and we enjoyed the ride first-rate. At about 3 o'clock we found ourselves in Ceresco, a Fourierite settlement where they pretend to live all alike and have all property in common.[13] Here we expected to meet brother Henry, or Uncle John, to guide us the last ten miles: but we learned that they had been there and had given up our coming, so had gone away. They had left about two hours before we arrived, so after resting awhile and gaining all the information we could about the roads, we set out.

After going a short distance away from the settlement we came to a small stream over which was a bridge made of planks laid lengthwise and all loose. We thought it looked as though

[13] For a full description of this community see the Society's *Proceedings*, 1902, pp. 190–226.—Ed.

lumber was scarce around there. Mother thought we had better not ride across; but Father said, "Sit still all of you. I'll get out and drive very slowly and we shall get over all safe." We went on and got over except the back wheels of the buggy which dropped down between the planks as far as the hubs. Then Father said, "Sit still, I'll lift you out," and he did, so that we were finally over safe, for all our fright. About a mile farther on we passed a log shanty, and three miles more another building, and then all was woods, prairie, and oak openings. Finally we came to a road leading off to the right. Father was much puzzled by this, but concluded after considerable hesitation to keep on this road which we followed until about dusk. Then the bushes became very thick, and it soon got so dark we could hardly distinguish any track, but we kept moving slowly. Now and then we had to stop to look for the best crossing to a creek, and found the very best bad enough. They were not wide but deep. Father did not like to wait for us to all get out, so with one or two exceptions we stayed in the buggy. Many times we had hard work to keep from being thrown out, as the horses liked the plan of jumping across creeks rather than walking through them. We girls began to get very uneasy and questioned Mother to know whether she didn't think Father was really lost and whether she thought we should ever find anybody off here in this wilderness. She told us to keep still and that all would be right, she guessed; and guessing was all that could be done at that time. There was no moon, but the night was clear, so it was not very dark.

At last we came to a sort of turnout track and stopped to investigate. After looking about we noticed an upright stake or pole, split at the top and inserted in this a crosswise stick. But owing to the darkness and our ignorance of that sort of a guideboard, the affair was no aid to us, so we kept on in the same track. We had not gone far before we got into trouble again by coming to a watery slough or marsh. The water got deeper and deeper and finally Father thought best to stop and call three times. There we waited with anxious suspense until there came from a distance an answer, faint but evidently the voice of some person. We waited with great anxiety for several minutes and then heard some one coming towards us right through the water.

Then when near enough the call came again, and we all knew it was Uncle John!

After much rejoicing and glad explanations he told us that we must turn around and go back to the place where we saw that split stick; that they had put it there as a guide for us to turn out. When we reached this place we soon met Henry, who had gone that way to find us, supposing we had taken that road. The one we started on they travelled in the winter, when it was frozen, and this one we were now on they used when the marsh was full of water. We soon found the way around the marsh and a jolly, rejoicing crowd we were when we reached the log shanty they had built. Such a happy company, for there we found Brother Henry, Uncle John, and his wife Aunt Laura and little Harriet, all so glad to see us!

We were now at our journey's end. We ate supper, and after talking for I don't know how long, fixed beds on the floor of the shanty for most of us, and the boys slept in the wagon outdoors.

Sunday, May 10. This day finds us somewhat rested, in a log house 16 by 14 feet, situated on the north shore of Rush Lake, town of Nepeuskun, Winnebago County, Wisconsin Territory. There is a fine sugar bush near, but no neighbors anywhere around. Toward night the men all went to look after Alvin and Charles who were coming with the oxen and wagon. After going about two miles and not seeing anything of them they returned to start out again the next day, when they found the two boys coming slowly along the right road, although they did not know it. They were very glad indeed to see friends as they were almost tired out.

So now here we are all of us, ready to begin life in the woods, and here I must stop for the present, though I might continue and perhaps make it interesting too, but do not feel really capable; so here is an end to this journal.

Recollections of a Pioneer Woman of La Crosse

By Augusta Levy, edited by Albert H. Sanford, A. M.[1]

In the autumn of 1845 my husband, John M. Levy, then living in Prairie du Chien, became acquainted with Dr. Samuel Snow,[2]

[1] This narrative was sent to the Society by Ellis B. Usher, long a resident of La Crosse. He states that Mrs. Levy wrote it originally in German; later, with the aid of a ten-year old grandchild, she translated it. The present editor has greatly reduced its length by revision. John M. Levy was born 1820 in London of German-Jewish parentage. After an elementary education in Amsterdam and Paris, he came to America at the age of seventeen, and began business at St. Louis where he married a German woman. Engaging in the fur-trade he removed to Prairie du Chien, and thence in 1845 to the site of La Crosse. He later served three terms as mayor, and eight years as alderman, and died April 20, 1910, an honored and respected citizen. The narrative by his wife shows the early steps in the growth of La Crosse. First, the Indian trader, ephemeral because of the removal of the Winnebago. Second, the lumbering industry of Black River, twenty-five miles above La Crosse; at the latter site the Mississippi cargoes were shifted, steamboats were unloaded, and lumbermen made it a base of supplies and a convenient stopping place. Finally, are to be seen the beginnings of an agricultural community on the treeless prairie between the Mississippi and the 500-feet bluffs. Along the bluffs are the fertile coulees, where the first farmers settled. So rich were these that an early settler is reported to have grown wheat upon one field, without fertilizing, for eighteen consecutive years. After the possibilities of the town were seen, land speculators and other emigrants arrived, and early in the fifties the growing community was firmly established. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 383, 384, on the founding of La Crosse.—A .H. S.

[2] Also spelled Snaugh, and familiarly known as "Dutch Doc."—A. H. S.

who had settled at La Crosse. They decided to go into partnership, Levy's stock of goods offsetting Snow's claim to 160 acres of land. Thereupon my husband left for La Crosse and passed the winter there, regaining his health in the pure, pleasant air of his new home. Business proved good, for Black River Valley was already well settled.

Early in May, 1846, he returned to Prairie du Chien to remove his family. We left there the 27th of May and landed at Cameron's Landing in La Crosse the following morning. My husband's family consisted of himself, wife, and child, a horse, cow, dog, two cats, a whole family of hogs, and a "zip-coon" hitched to a box of chickens, most of which he ate up on the voyage.

On coming up to our place[3] from the landing the grass was so high that I could see but little. After straining my eyes, I discovered two small houses which we had passed after coming off the boat, but which because of our unruly family we had not heretofore noticed. I found within doors six old bachelors and a dirty house. I could do nothing but go to work cleaning house. I was only half done, when I had a call from Mrs. Myrick.[4] Finding a white lady here gave me courage and pluck, for I had dreaded being alone. She gave me an invitation to come up to

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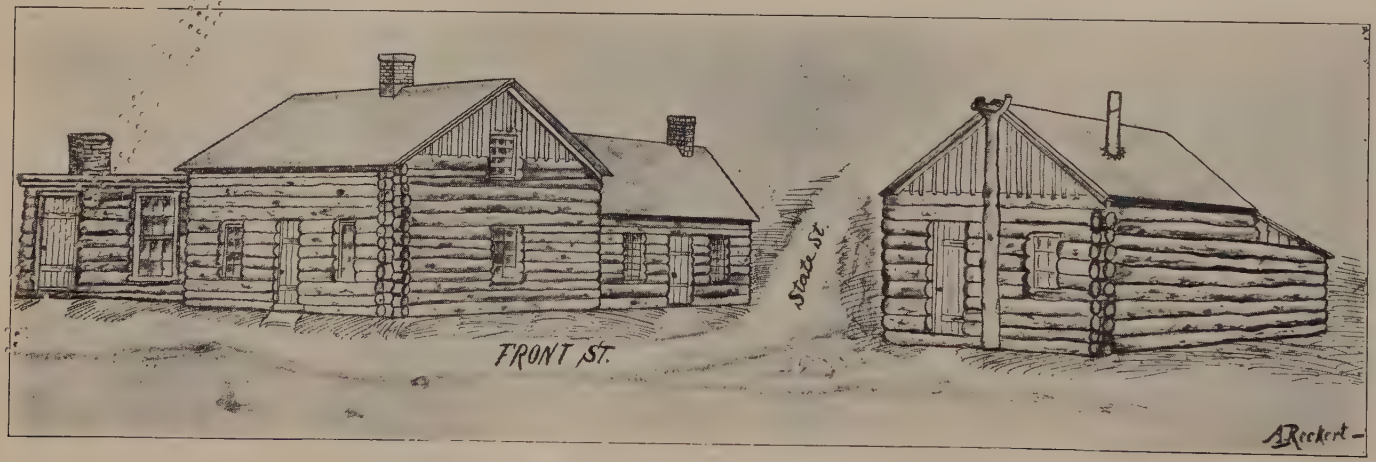
[3] The Levy house was located on the northeast corner of Front and Pearl streets.—A. H. S.

[4] Nathan Myrick, the first permanent settler at La Crosse, was born in 1822 at Westport, N. Y. He came to Prairie du Chien in 1841, and the same year with Eben Weld went to Prairie la Crosse with a stock of goods for Indian trade. November 9 they landed on Barroe's Island, where they built a shanty in the present Pettibone Park, opposite the foot of State street. In February, 1842, they removed to the mainland, building a hut of logs cut on the island, near the south side of State on the present street. The following year Myrick married and built a large log house, using the older one as a storehouse.

In that year Myrick entered into partnership with H. J. B. Miller, familiarly known as "Scoots" Miller. They traded with the Indians and acquired land, including much of the site of La Crosse. In 1843 Myrick married Rebecca E. Ismon in Vermont, and brought her to La Crosse to live. In 1848 Myrick, seeing greater opportunities, went to St. Paul and never again resided in La Crosse though he retained his property at this place. See *Biographical History of La Crosse, Buffalo, and Trempealeau Cos.* (Chicago, 1892), pp. 541–569.—A. H. S.



NATHAN MYRICK'S HOUSE AT LA CROSSE, BUILT IN 1842

Sketch based on recollections of pioneers

her house, which I accepted Sunday, the appointed time, and from there we went over to La Crosse River beside a cool spring, and had a quiet picnic all by ourselves.

Monday I went over the whole place. I was surprised to see what a beautiful garden we had. Of course no fences had been needed till we came, so our hogs and chickens took possession of it until the bachelors made a fence. We raised tomatoes, cucumbers, and onions. Soon after our arrival my husband took me around the town to get acquainted with my neighbors. First we went a mile from our house to that of D. C. White. Then we called on Peter Cameron. The third call was on Mr. Federlein, and after his house came our own, next to which was the blacksmith shop. The last house was that of Nathan Myrick. That made, with ours, five houses in La Crosse.

The Sunday after this we went out in the country to get acquainted with the farmers. Eight miles out was the Mormon Coulee.[5] There we called on the Irish family of Jerry McCauly, who had a farm of 160 acres sufficiently improved to make a good living for his family. Six miles beyond, also in Mormon Coulee, we called on Philip Jung. He had his place fixed very nicely in his own way, having plenty of provisions for his family and for sale. After calling at two bachelor establishments we finished the round of our country neighbors.

Our house was a story-and-a-half log cabin. It did very well in hot, dry weather, but when it rained we had to sit with an umbrella over us. We had a very large fireplace in one of the rooms. Dr. Snow once tried to surprise me with a good smoking. He forgot to put the pan that we used for smoking out mosquitos in the fireplace, so that the smoke would go up the chimney. I happened to awaken, or before long my little boy and I would

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[5] Mormons from Nauvoo, Ill., may have come to the Black River before 1840. Some accompanied Myrick in 1841 as far as La Crosse. In 1843 a company of Mormons rented a mill at Black River Falls in which they made lumber for the construction of their temple at Nauvoo. Later in the same year a number of Mormon families settled in a coulee a few miles southeast of La Crosse. They built log houses which they abandoned the following spring when they returned down the river. This valley has since borne the name of Mormon Coulee. Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1906, p. 211.—A. H. S.

have choked. I heard the child groaning, and finding the room full of smoke took him in my arms and fortunately went straight to the door and put my hand directly on the latch. I opened the door and leaned against the railing, and we both were safe.

About the last week in June, we went about a block from our house and picked strawberries. They were very thick on the prairie, so we all went, including the chickens and pigs. We found plenty of nice berries, but the chickens were so expert in choosing the ones I wanted, that I went a block farther on where I picked a great plenty. I had nearly filled a two-gallon pail, and was planning to give my folks a splendid surprise, when what should I behold but a big Indian, the first I ever had seen. He gave me a startling surprise. I gave a scream that scared all the animals out of the strawberries. The poor fellow merely meant to show me where there were more nice strawberries, but I thought I was going to be scalped on the spot, and left strawberries and everything behind me and ran for half an hour all over the prairie. I fell half a dozen times, got my feet tangled in the grass, and stuck in the sand, till at last, worn out, I had to stop. All the men in the community were looking for me. When I got home the poor Indian had carried my strawberries home for me, my neighbors were picking them over, and all had a good deal of fun over my fright.

While I was in the kitchen getting tea, there came another surprise. A squaw came in to make me a sociable call. She held out her hand to me but I declined it, thinking she wanted the ring on my finger. She had planted herself in the doorway, and thus prevented me from running out. I gave another scream, and the squaw was more frightened than I. Everybody came running from the front room. When they found that the trouble was made by the squaw, they had no mercy for her, but kicked her out of the shanty.

A couple of days later, we heard a woman scream as if in distress. We all ran out, but could see nothing but an Indian leaning with his face against the house. His blanket covered his wife so we didn't see her till she screamed again for help. Dr. Snow understood what was the matter, and went to the squaw's assistance, when the Indian turned around and spit out his wife's nose, which for punishment, because of bad behavior, he had bitten

off. My husband ran into the house to get his chew of tobacco, which he had laid by while eating dinner, tied it around her nose, and she was cured in a short time. She mourned greatly for her nose, for it was the only one she had, and she had no chance to get another.

A short time after this she came again to the store. As she kept her hands crossed in her bosom, my husband suspected that she had stolen and was trying to hide something. He wanted her to show him what she had; she refused and ran out of the house. My husband followed and overtook her, and demanded that she give up what she had stolen from us. So she pulled both hands out of her bosom and in each she had a snake. My husband told her to put them down and have them killed. She refused, saying her husband had bitten off her nose and now those snakes were the best friends she had. The Indians not treating her well I engaged her to do the housework, and she proved a faithful servant until the Indians were removed, when she left and went with them.

A short time after this the Indians had a holiday, when many of them came to buy things. Among them was a very fine young Indian, whose parents had sent him over to make purchases. He bought his things quietly, packed them up, put them on his back, and went off. He was just going down the bank of the river to his canoe, when we heard a gun go off, rushed to see what had happened, and found that nice young Indian shot dead by another, who had taken his goods and was paddling off with them in his canoe. A couple of days after this the Indians held a council. A murder had been committed, and amongst the Indians the rule is a life for a life. The mother of the murdered Indian was among them with a big knife in her hand, ready, when the word was given, to stab the murderer through the heart. But, through the long council, they carelessly neglected the prisoner. He saw a chance for liberty and escaped, thus balking the avenger of her prey.

The first Fourth of July we were aided in our celebration by the arrival of Mr. Nichols and his lumber crew on a raft. He ordered the best dinner obtainable, and after dinner speeches were attempted. Nichols was standing on a whiskey barrel, but getting excited stamped so that he broke through. They had much

difficulty fishing him out. The boys had a great time playing, wrestling, and drinking, but all in a good-natured spirit.

The last week in July Mr. Spaulding[6] landed here with a large raft, to leave his cook, who was sick, in Dr. Snow's care. The man died in a couple of days. As we had carpenters at work building our new house, we could have a decent coffin made for him. He had quite a largely-attended funeral. It took the carpenters until the last week in September to finish the house. Two hunters who stopped with us went out every day and brought home a bag of pigeons. In the evening they would make a bonfire of shavings, and all hands sat around and picked pigeons by the fire. By the middle of September we moved into our new house, which was still unfinished.

One day when a carpenter was working outside on the porch, with the doors all open, an Indian walked through the front door, back into the store, and did some little trading with my husband. For some reason the red man wasn't well-suited and pulled a knife out of his belt to stab Levy. The assailant was very tall, so my husband dodged out under his arm and the knife stuck in the wall; but the Indian pulled it out quick as lightning, and again went after his intended victim. He had just reached the porch where the carpenter was. "Look out," he shouted, "this Indian is trying to kill me!" The carpenter picked up one of his heavy tools, hit the Indian on the arm and broke it, causing him to drop his knife, exclaim with pain, and run away. That was the last we saw of him.

In the fall of 1846 my husband and his partner took the contract to carry the mail for the season from Prairie du Chien to St. Paul. My husband was to bring it up from Prairie du Chien; his partner was to carry it on to St. Paul. On his first trip Levy rode, with his hired man, down to a point about eight miles from here. The man was looking for game while my husband went on with his horses and the mail bag. Coming to a creek which had frozen considerably in the night, he started his horse across. The little skin of ice broke, and rider, mail bag, and horse disappeared. About this time the other man came up, looking for

[6] Jacob Spaulding in 1839 established a mill at Black River Falls and is the reputed founder of that town. See *Ibid*, pp. 210, 211.—A. H. S.

my husband. He called and got no answer. Finally his eyes met two moccasins sticking out of the creek. Expecting to find a pair of legs in them, he pulled them out, and laid my husband on the bank. The man, very much frightened, didn't know at first where to get help, but remembering that he had passed a fence, he thought there must be a farmer living near. He left my husband for dead, and the horse in the creek, and went two miles back to Philip Jung's place and asked for help. They hurried back, but when they got to the place they found the supposedly dead man on his feet. He had on a very large oil skin hat called a "wideawake," that saved him from drowning. The horse was dead, having broken its neck falling into the creek. The mail bag was recovered.

The winter now commenced and with it the trading business with the Indians. I could get along with the savages very well because I had now got used to them. There were many traders staying at our house all that winter. They went out in the woods trapping game and sold us their furs. Socially the winter was lively and quickly passed away. As soon as spring began a great many rafts from Black River came down. They stayed but a short time, but there were always some of them passing by, and many raftsmen on their way back landed here, stayed awhile and then went on to Black River.

That year they wanted delegates to meet at Liberty Pole, twenty miles back in the country.[7] My husband and Mr. Miller[8] were sent from here. They expected to stay all night and get back the next afternoon by 4 o'clock. In the evening before they went to bed they agreed that whoever awakened first should call the other, so as to get an early start for home. Miller was first to awaken. He didn't call my husband, but left Liberty Pole

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[7] Liberty Pole is about five miles south of Viroqua. The meeting is believed to have been a Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the legislature. See an interview with Levy in the La Crosse *Republican*, July 14, 1873.—A. H. S.

[8] H. J. B. Miller came from the state of New York, and was a butcher before 1841 at Prairie du Chien. He came to La Crosse with Nathan Myrick, and was in the fur-trade for several years. Later he owned a farm in the coulee known by his name, the present location of the La Crosse Country Club.—A. H. S.

without his breakfast. My husband got up at 6 o'clock, inquired for Miller, and heard, to his surprise, that Miller had left at 4 o'clock. He felt rather down-hearted, because he wasn't acquainted in that part of the country, but thinking that the trail must be fresh and that he could follow it, took courage and started. He had gone about five miles in the woods when his horse became frightened and ran away, plunging deeper and deeper into the woods. Levy chased the animal up and down hill—how many miles he didn't know, till at last the horse's bridle caught on a bush, and the beast had to stop. It must have been about noon when Levy recovered the horse, and being worn out, hungry, and thirsty, he sat down and rested. Then after eating a few dried-up wild plums and acorns he took a new start and in the evening made a good fire, tied his horse, and took a good night's rest. Next morning he found himself lost, quite lost. He travelled all day long, living on wild plums and acorns. When the second night came on, he could see no chance of getting out of the woods, so he again made a fire to keep the wolves away, and lay down to sleep. Towards morning he was awakened by the sound of a steamboat. He knew then that he was near the river, so got up quickly, cut a cross from a piece of wood, and laid it down to show in which direction the boat went. When it was light, with surprise and joy he found that he had camped close by an Indian trail. He got his horse, looked at the trail, and started the way he had pointed the cross and after travelling about six miles came to Philip Jung's house. They did not at first know him, for the brush had torn off all his clothes. From the few rags that were left, he had made a breech-clout.

Meanwhile we grew uneasy at home, for Miller could give no satisfactory news of my husband. I could not sleep and went out and walked the bluffs by moonlight, calling my husband's name. I could not see or hear anything but wolves, so went home broken-hearted. The next day about 9 o'clock, we were getting ready to search for our lost one, when I heard our boy shout, "Here is papa! Mamma! Papa is coming!" And there he came riding over the hill. We didn't know him at first, because he had Philip Jung's clothes on. I thanked my neighbors for their kind attentions and offers of help to look for my husband, then we crowded around our returned one and asked him

more questions than he could answer. He was so overjoyed that he was safely home that he cried almost all day long. He was bruised and poisoned from wild ivy and faint from hunger, so that he was taken sick and laid up for a month.

In February, 1848, the federal land came into market and my husband and his partner had to go to Mineral Point to make entries. It took them about a month. As soon as the land was in market we heard that the Indians of the neighborhood were to be removed.[9] There was great excitement over this removal, and we lost many of our best settlers who were traders. Messrs. White, Horton, and Marks went along with the red men. They all found good trading posts and did very well. They tried to coax my husband to go also. They promised him the best place for trading that there was, but he thought he had had enough of the Indians, was glad they were going, and said he would not follow them.

The Indian traders were gone, but most of the Indians were still scattered around in Minnesota. They liked the country around La Crosse so well they refused to leave till they were taken by force, which was done about the middle of May. Before their departure they begged my husband to permit all the chiefs to meet at our house for a council. He allowed them to come on condition that they would keep sober and behave themselves. They promised faithfully and next day about eleven o'clock, we saw the greatest sight I ever beheld. About fifty canoes appeared, filled with chiefs and headmen, all of them dressed in their best and painted, with big bunches of feathers on their heads and tomahawks in their hands. They glistened as though a procession, all shining with gold and silver, was coming down the river.

I didn't know anything about their arrangements with Levy, so little Willie and I were frightened. We were all alone in the house and I ran to shut the windows and lock the doors while we hid ourselves in a dark room. I couldn't keep myself long in

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[9] An account of the removal of the Winnebago Indians to Long Prairie, Minnesota, is given by Moses Paquette, who assisted in the work, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 407–410; see also *Id.*, xiii, pp. 456, 466. The treaty made with the government was signed October 16, 1846, the removal to begin in June, 1848.—A. H. S.

hiding, but peered out and saw that the Indians had landed from their canoes in front of our house. As they came marching directly up towards us I ran back into my hiding place. They knocked and knocked but I would not open the door. Finally my husband came around to the kitchen window and said. "Open the doors quickly, in Heaven's name! What did you lock yourself in for?"

Said I, "Don't you see the Indians at the front door ready with their tomahawks to kill us?"

Said he, "If you don't open the doors quick, I'll kick them in!"

So I opened the kitchen door to admit him and he went to the front door at once to let the Indians in, while I hastened back to my hiding place. If there was any scalping to be done, I thought they should take Levy first. But they all went very quietly into the dining room, sat down on the floor, had a smoke all around, then after talking some time shook hands and departed. I wished them a pleasant journey, and never to return. They got my husband to write to Washington to ask the government to annul the treaty. They waited in the neighborhood hoping that they could stay till my husband got an answer from Washington. But their request was refused, and they had to leave the country. By June the Indians had all left for St. Paul.

There was a great deal of travelling on the ice that next winter, because St. Paul was settling up very fast. The winter set in early, which prevented boats from taking the freight up to St. Paul, and it had been stored in every warehouse and shanty along the upper river. Later, they hired every Frenchman who could be had to take freight up the river on the ice, because these men knew best where the ice was safest. They all made their stopping place at our house. Sometimes there were from twenty to twenty-five Frenchmen here with their horses. They also took a great many travellers up and down, so that our house was kept pretty lively.

In 1849, Bill Bunnell came back to La Crosse. His father, Dr. Bunnell, came here from Buffalo with his family, long before my time. Lost his wife, and with his only daughter Frances moved back to Buffalo again. Bill Bunnell had married a French lady and brought her with him. He was a smart man and once saved my life. I was all alone in the house and he saw an Indian enter it whom he knew to be a dangerous fellow. He

followed him up and hid behind our door. The Indian was asking me to give him something to drink, and when I refused the fellow put his hands in his belt and pulled out one of those pointed Indian knives ready to stab me. At this Bunnell came rushing in, grabbed a pitchfork and ran after the Indian, and I believe if he had caught him he would have put the fork right through him. The Indian ran and took to his canoe, and never looked around until he had reached the Minnesota shore.

About the middle of November a mission Indian belonging to Dandy's band[10] was set free from the state prison, where he had been placed for killing a white man. Dandy and his band, knowing the exact time when he would be in La Crosse, came to receive him. About forty Indians came into the village and the rest of the band camped back on the prairie. They gave him a warm reception; they kissed, cried, laughed, talked, and then, at last, made preparations to cook supper. I was all alone. When he saw so many Indians coming, my hired man had left the house. I felt a little afraid myself, but had no idea of leaving the house. I humored them a good deal, gave them pork and potatoes to cook, and a great dish-pan full of flour. It must have been about eleven o'clock when they got noisy. I heard Dandy talking a good deal; it sounded as if he were making a speech. I heard them occasionally shouting, "How, how!" ("That is so!") and clapping their hands.

About twelve o'clock I heard them upset the benches and chairs and commence pounding and kicking at the kitchen door. I got up to see what they wanted. I stood inside, by the door, and kept quiet awhile, deciding what I should do. Finally I made up my mind to go in. I opened the door and stood in the room, facing them with a smile, when the Indian that came out of the penitentiary pointed the loaded double-barreled gun right at me. I stood still, when I saw another Indian grab the gun from behind as quickly as he could. They had found out that I was alone and had been tempted to do mischief. I could see, now, from their faces, that they felt sorry for what they had done. They went out and fired off all their loaded guns in the air,

[10] Dandy, or Old Dandy, is referred to in *Ibid*, xii, p. 409. Here he is spoken of as perhaps seventy years of age, and after 1848 was generally regarded as the chief of the tribe.—A. H. S.

now, from their faces, that they felt sorry for what they had and then they brought them in and handed them all over to me, telling me to take care of them till they were ready to go home.

After this experience I went back to bed, and about seven o'clock was awakened by a steamboat that landed at our wharf. Two gentlemen from the boat came to our house, of whom one was Mr. Brisbois of Prairie du Chien. My husband had asked him, if the boat stopped here, to see how I was getting along. The Indians, seeing the boat, had gone back on the prairie to hide until it was gone. We had a very late fall that year. The boats ran till late in November. I begged Brisbois, as there were so many Indians around, to stay till they were gone. He couldn't refuse a woman in trouble, so he made up his mind to stay. About ten o'clock the Indians came back with a big lot of furs and moccasins, so it took us all that day and the next night to trade with them, and we made a good deal of money out of the transaction. The Indian that had saved my life asked me to give him about $60 worth of credit, to be paid back through the winter, and I did it very freely. He afterwards paid the most of what he owed and then we saw no more of him.

When the boat returned from St. Paul, Brisbois went in it back to Prairie du Chien, and told my husband how I was getting along. The river had closed, but the ice was not strong enough to travel on, so Levy had to walk home, camping out nights. He arrived one afternoon at four o'clock, hearty and strong, and all my troubles were soon forgotten.

In 1849 the first Episcopal service was held in La Crosse. The Rev. Mr. Breck,[11] Mr. Wilcox, Mr. Myrick, and another young man, on their way to St. Paul, were delayed several days waiting for the boat. They spent their time gathering the people together and baptising, holding daily communion and services as long as they stayed. They found to their delight a very good singer in La Crosse, Miss Bunnell, who had come from the East on a visit to her brother. The minister left us when the boat arrived, but afterward paid us frequent visits. A Methodist minister named Wood had held the first service here long before I came.

[11] Rev. J. Lloyd Breck became superior at Nashota House about 1841. Whether this is the gentleman referred to above is not certain. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 497.—A. H. S.

The last week in April, 1850, great preparations were again made to remove the Indians. Mr. Rice of St. Paul had the contract.[12] He made my husband the agent to see that they were all gathered, clothed, and fed, and taken up on the boat to Mankato. This was a chance for our settlers to make money. Levy hired as many as he could to go around everywhere with skiffs, to find the Indians. The latter were given notice to come to La Crosse to see Levy, where they would get everything they needed and be taken up on the boat to their new home, and get their money. After this notice, they came in fifty and sixty at a time.

An enemy of Mr. Rice spent money freely to coax the Indians away, and even persuaded some of our neighbors to lock them up in order to keep them from being transported. For two days they had a number thus shut up in a warehouse without provisions. The Indians began to get hungry, so one of them made a hole big enough to creep out, whereupon he swam across the river and got help.

The next morning we saw about a dozen canoes come down the river full of Indians, ready for a war. That caused great excitement. Some of the white women came running down crying that they had been told up town it was all my fault. Mr. Bunnell came and asked me for all the guns I had. I handed him about half a dozen. While he was going around the house an Indian came around the back way and told me not to be frightened and not to run away. They didn't come down for a fight. All they wanted was to get back their wives, mothers, and sisters, and what had been taken from them. The white men were glad enough to give up everybody and everything because there were at that time a good many more Indians than whites.

After the Indians had gone, and the land entry office was opened, settlers came in with a rush. Among those who arrived in the spring of 1851 were T. B. Stoddard[13] and A. B.

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12 Henry M. Rice, afterwards U. S. senator from Minnesota.—A. H. S.

13 Thomas B. Stoddard was born at Canandaigua, N. Y., December 11, 1800. He was a graduate of Yale and of Columbia law school, and is said to have studied in the offices of Aaron Burr and Chancellor Kent. After practising law in Buffalo he came to Wisconsin, and as-

La Due. Both brought their families within a few months. Then others began to pour in in large numbers—land speculators, merchants, lawyers, doctors, and all sorts of mechanics, also farmers, who went into the country and bought land. Those who decided to remain in the city bought lots; but no rafts having come that spring from Black River, the lumber in market was insufficient for houses. After the rafts began to run, you could see every day from twenty to twenty-five buildings going up.

My husband had gone East to buy goods when some lumbermen came in with a raft which they offered me for $800. I knew it was a bargain, but had not ready money enough to pay for it. However, by offering them some cattle and goods we finally made a trade, and they went off satisfied. We had lived in our house all this time without having it plastered or painted; now we had the materials, but no workmen. Among the newcomers were a painter and two plasters, Mr. Hart and Mr. Polleys. I agreed with them to undertake the task, and before my husband returned it was well under way. We later rented our hotel to a Mr. Kellogg from Waukegan, so I was relieved of much care and trouble.

Among those who came in about this time were Gov. Timothy Burns,[14] Elder Sherwin (our first Presbyterian minister),[15]

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sisted in the enterprise which resulted in the building of the La Crosse & Milwaukee and the Southern Minnesota railroads. Mr. Stoddard was elected in 1856 the first mayor of La Crosse. In 1861-62 he served in the legislature. He died in 1876.—A. H. S.

[14] Timothy Burns was born in Ireland in 1820. His parents in 1837 settled in Iowa County. He seems to have visited La Crosse in 1847 (Carr, "A Brief Sketch," etc., p. 12), removed his family here in 1850, and in 1851 purchased one-half of Myrick and Miller's interest in the town site. He employed a surveyor, William Hood, to make the first plat of village lots. It is perhaps for this reason that he has been incorrectly spoken of as "virtually the founder of La Crosse"—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 381. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1851, dying in 1853.—A. H. S.

[15] Rev. John C. Sherwin (born Aug. 9, 1811, at Ontario, N. Y.) was educated for the ministry at Huron Institute, Milan, Ohio, and at Western Reserve College. He was (1840) pastor at Berlin, Ohio, and came to La Crosse in 1851. Jan. 22, 1852, with the assistance of Rev.

and Elder Card (the first Baptist).[16] When we had sociables and donation parties, every one attended, no matter to what church he belonged. There was then a spirit of neighborliness and kindness that does not seem to me to exist today.

W. H. Card, he organized the First Congregational church of La Crosse. At the same time and place he assisted Mr. Card in organizing the First Baptist church of La Crosse. In 1857 Sherwin became superintendent of home missions in northwestern Wisconsin and continued in this position until 1868, with the exception of the years 1862 and 1863, where he was pastor of the Congregational churches at Barre and West Salem, in La Crosse County. In 1868 he became pastor of the First Congregational church of Eau Claire. Resigning this position in 1875, on account of his health, he removed to Sherman, Tex., where he engaged in missionary work. In 1881 he returned to Eau Claire where he died in 1892. For the above facts I am indebted to L. R. Montague of La Crosse.—A. H. S.

[16] Rev. W. H. Card was a native of Lewis County, N. Y., and a graduate of Hamilton College. He was a missionary to the Mississippi River towns at the time spoken of above. He died in 1889 at the age of seventy-seven.—A. H. S.

Another La Crosse Pioneer's Statement

By John S. Harris[1]

I started on foot from East Troy, Wisconsin, early in the spring of 1851, having with me a good rifle, a well-trained bulldog, and carrying a carpet-bag containing a change of clothes. On arriving at the Dells of the Wisconsin, I found that a new bridge was being built across the river at the narrowest place, and that the roads, where there were any, were so muddy as to make travelling difficult. So I stopped off at that place and took a job of grading on the bridge approaches to prepare it for crossing with teams. Most of the time I boarded with a Mr. Gates; later, at a hotel at the foot of the Dells.

In the latter part of June, I arranged to accompany a young man by the name of Chapman, and we started on foot for La Crosse, travelling on an Indian trail, as at that time there was no road thither, and it was reported that but one wagon had ever gone through on that route. We camped out nights, taking no provisions with us but bread, depending for meat upon shooting pigeons and partridges, which were plenty on the divide between the Dells and Sparta. At one point on this divide the Indian trail branched, and we lost two or three days' time by going in the wrong direction down into the Kickapoo Valley, and had to go back to the point where the trail branched and start again.

When we arrived in Sparta, our provisions were entirely gone, and we could get no breakfast until Mr. Pickett, who was erecting the first log house in Sparta, returned from La Crosse

[1] This narrative was written by John S. Harris, a La Crosse pioneer, being dated at La Crescent, Minn., January 7, 1901. It furnishes several interesting details of life in early La Crosse, sixty years ago.

with provisions. We learned here that a family named Brown were living three miles north of Sparta on the road to Black River Falls. We thereupon went on, and at this house, about 10:30 in the morning, we partook of a royal breakfast of fried pork, cornbread, and blackstrap molasses.

The next day we struck Black River at Robinson's mills, and finding that a raft of lumber was about to be run out and down the Mississippi, I engaged a passage to La Crosse, where I landed on the morning of July 7 or 8, and on that same day began work on the old Black River House, which was being built by W. W. Bennett. The frame was already raised and the roof on, but the sides not enclosed, when I arrived. I made the window sash and panel doors for the house by hand, and believe it was the first work of that kind done in La Crosse. As soon as the building was enclosed, I made a number of bedsteads of pine lumber, procured hay to fill the bedticks of a German living out near the foot of the bluffs. I used fine shavings for pillows and Mackinac blankets for bedding. Bennett started up a first-class hotel.

The bar consisted, at first, merely of a barrel of whiskey with a tin cup on top; but a little later two kinds of brandy were added—one genuine cogniac, and the other manufactured on the premises out of wiskey and burnt sugar. Bennett would not let a drunken man drink on his premises, and would not sell drinks on Sunday; neither would he receive paper money in payment for drinks or hotel bills. Only gold or silver was current with him. He would take copper pennies in change, but to get rid of them would go out and heave them into the river. If the river should ever go dry, a considerable mine of copper would be found in front of Spence's drug store.

About this time, La Crosse and other upper Mississippi points were having a boom. The steamboats "War Eagle" and "Menomonie" were crowded with homeseekers and business men looking for places to better their fortunes. These boats generally arrived at La Crosse about midnight, when a number of passengers were sure to stop off. Hotel facilities were so limited at that time that Bennett managed on the nights of the boats' arrival to have all beds vacated as soon as the approaching boat whistle was heard, ready to be filled with new arrivals.

For several weeks my business was to oversee the lodging apartment, assist in waiting on table, and add variety in the bill-of-fare. I occasionally went out to the woods that skirted the slough, where the cemetery is now located, to get a good mess of wild pigeons, which were then very plenty, sometimes changing to a lot of gray squirrels from the bank below the present Green Bay station, or a string of trout from the Mormon and Chipmunk coulees. Later in the season, Bennett sold the Black River House to D. C. Evans of Dodgeville, to be used for a store and commenced building the old New England House, upon which I also worked.

December 24, 1857, I was married to Miss R. J. Clayton of Walworth County, at the residence of B. B. Healy, Rev. W. H. Card officiating. Soon after, we began housekeeping in a small building near McDowell's new boarding house between Third and Fourth streets, near Vine; and were living there at the time of the murder by William Watts of David Darst, in the Mormon coulee. I was appointed a special deputy sheriff under Sheriff Eldred to summon a coroner's jury, and procured a team and got started a little before midnight on Saturday night. We arrived at the scene of the murder just as it began to break day on Sunday, and found Darst's body in a clump of bushes several rods from the house, which was stripped of everything except an axe-helve which was supposed to have been used by the murderer in committing the deed. As soon as it was fully daylight an inquest was held, at which, I believe, a Dr. Johnson was the physician, and we returned to La Crosse with the corpse. I was well acquainted with C. B. Sinclair and his son, W. F. Sinclair, who now resides in Money Creek, Minnesota, and personally know that all of the statements he has made in regard to that first murder case in La Crosse are facts.

A few evenings before the escape of the prisoner, I met a posse of about a dozen men coming down Main street toward where the prisoner was kept, intent upon taking him out and lynching him. I halted them and, after a long parley, persuaded them to give it up. Afterward I almost regretted having done so, for before he was again captured and tried, hanging was abolished by the laws of the State.

Index to Historical Papers

Includes only pages 54–218.

"A. G. Mason," steamboat, 116, 132, 140.
"A. J. Dorchester," steamboat, 136.
"A. J. Whitney," steamboat, 147.
Aberdeen (S. Dak.), statehood convention at, 86.
Able, Daniel, river captain, 114.
Abolitionists, leaders, 62, 63.
Adair, J. S., river captain, 114.
Adams, Daniel, Oneida missionary, 152.
Adams, Pres. J. Q., appointments, 103.
Adamsville (Mich.), route via, 192.
"Addie Johnson," steamboat, 138.
"Adelia," steamboat, 116, 119–121, 124, 126, 136, 141, 144, 148.
"Ad. Hine," steamboat, 125.
"Admiral," steamboat, 120, 122, 124, 134, 138.
"Adventure," steamboat, 133, 146.
"Æolian," steamboat, 123, 142, 145.
Ainsworth, J. C., river captain, 114.
Ainsworth, S., river captain, 114.
"Albemarle," steamboat, 59.
Alexander, Mrs. Edward, treasurer Sauk County Historical Society, 57.
"Alexander Hamilton," steamboat, 131, 139.
"Alexander Mitchell," steamboat, 131.
Alford, Pliny A., river captain, 114.
"Alfred Tull," steamboat, 120.
"Alhambra," steamboat, 125, 126, 131, 136, 139.
"Alice," steamboat, 125, 135, 143.
"Allegheny," steamboat, 127.
Allen, ——, river captain, 115.
Allen, Capt. Charles J., U. S. engineer, cited, 113, 114.
Allen, J. T., steamboat clerk, 115.
Allen, L. C., steamboat clerk, 115.
Allen, M. S., river pilot, 115.
Allendorff, Gustave, river engineer, 115.
"Alma," steamboat, 137.
Altea, William, river captain, 115.
Alton (Ill.), *Courier*, cited, 68.
"Alvira," steamboat, 135.
"Amaranth," steamboat, 115, 121, 146.
"America," steamboat, 146.
"American Eagle," steamboat, 122.
American Fur Company, agent, 109; steamboat, 133.
American Historical Review, 60, 65.
Anchor Line, 137.
Anderson, H. A., secretary Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
Anderson, James S., "Indians of Manitowoc County," 160–169; "Manitowoc County in War Times," 55; sketch, 160.
Anderson, Tom F., river captain, 115.
Andrews, ——, river captain, 115.
Andrews, Edward, river engineer, 115.
Andrews, Lee, river engineer, 115.
Andrews, Lemuel, river captain, 115.
"Annawan," steamboat, 139, 140.
"Annie Johnson," steamboat, 138.
"Anson Northrup," steamboat, 116.
"Anthony Wayne," steamboat, 114, 138.
Appleby, John F., Wisconsin inventor, 177–180.
"Archer," steamboat, 118.
"Argo," steamboat, 118, 135.
"Ariel," steamboat, 132, 135, 141, 145.
Arizona, desires statehood, 81, 87, 92, 93.
"Arizona," steamboat, 130.
"Arkansas," steamboat, 117, 148.
Armstrong, James, river engineer, 115.
Armstrong, Joseph, river pilot, 98, 115.
Arndt, Madame John, Green Bay pioneer, 185.
Arnold, A. A., president Trempealeau County Historical Society, 57, 58.
Arnold, John P., river pilot, 98; captain, 115.
Artas, J., steamboat clerk, 115.
Arthur, James, steamboat clerk, 115.
Asbury, D. R., river captain, 115.
Asterland, See Aztalan.

Index

"Astoria," steamboat, 121.
Atchison, David, U. S. Senator, 112.
Atchison, George W., in steamboat trade, 112; captain, 115.
Atchison, Joseph, in steamboat trade, 112; captain, 115.
Atchison, Mark, river captain, 115.
Atchison, Pierce, in steamboat trade, 112; captain, 115.
Atchison, W. H., river captain, 115.
Atchison, W. T., steamboat owner, 145.
Atkinson, Gen. Henry, in Black Hawk War, 111.
"Atlanta," steamboat, 148.
"Atlas," steamboat, 134, 140.
"Audubon," steamboat, 120, 125.
"Aunt Letty," steamboat, 138.
Austin, E. P., steamboat clerk, 116.
"Australia," steamboat, 137.
Avery, Eugene, owns steamboat, 117.
Avery, Mrs. Frank, "First Church in Baraboo," 56.
Aymond, F., river captain, 116.
Aztalan, route via, 197.

Bab, E. H., on river-boat, 116.
Bacon, Charles, on river-boat, 116.
Bacon, Rev. Leonard, on excursion, 99.
"Badger State," steamboat, 122, 131.
Baensch, Emil, president of Manitowoc County Historical Society, 55.
Baker, Jehu, Illinois congressman, 69.
Baldwin, ——, river captain, 116.
Ball, J. J. F., steamboat clerk, 116.
Ball, S., steamboat clerk, 116.
"Banjo," steamboat, 125.
"Banner," steamboat, 124.
"Bannock City," steamboat, 115, 116, 119, 148.
Baptists, at La Crosse, 215.
Barger, ——, steamboat clerk, 116.
Barker, Lauren, entertainer, 59.
Barnard, George, river captain, 116.
Barnard, James, on river-boat, 116.
Barnes, Charles, steamboat agent, 116; buys line, 138.
Barnes, Rev. Daniel, missionary among Oneida, 152.
Barry, ——, river captain, 116.
Barstow, Gov. William, niece, 59.
Barthona, A. G., steamboat clerk, 116.
Bartlett, R. F., on river-boat, 116.
Bashford, Coles, Wisconsin Whig, 61.
Bates, David G., river captain, 108, 116.
Bates, Edward, on excursion, 99.
Bates, Walter, river captain, 116, 126.
Battles: Bad Axe, 111, 112, 126, 145, 147. Camden (La.), 140. Golden's Farm, 160. Mine Run, 160. Molino del Rey, 183. New Orleans, 103. Sandy Creek, 155. Spottsylvania (Va.), 160.
Beasley, Benjamin F., river engineer, 116.
Beaumont, Dr. William, visits Green Bay, 181; sketch, 186, 187.
Beaumont, Mrs. William, 181.
Beebe, Edward H., river captain, 116.
Beech, Lieut. ——, river trip, 109.
Beedle, Hiram, river pilot, 116.
Beedle, Hiram Jr., river pilot, 116.
Beef Slough, bar, 115.
Begg, A., *History of Northwest*, 84.
Beheim, Miss Lillian, entertainer, 59.
Belford, J. H., cited, 93.
Bell, Edwin, river captain, 116.
"Belle Golden," steamboat, 137.
"Belle of La Crosse," steamboat, 128, 131, 140.
"Belle of Minnetonka," steamboat, 134, 147.
Belle Vernon (Pa.), ship-yards, 105.
Bellevue (O.), route via, 189.
Beloit, machine shops, 178.
Belt, William S., river captain, 116.
Beltrami, Count Giacomo C., in Wisconsin, 108, 109.
"Ben Bolt," steamboat, 119.
"Ben Campbell," steamboat, 120–122, 124, 125, 131, 135.
"Ben Coursin," steamboat, 144.
"Ben Hur," steamboat, 134.
"Benjamin McCulloch," steamboat, 142.
Bennett, W. W., La Crosse pioneer, 217, 218.
Benton, Joel, "Home of Blizzard," cited, 85.
Berdeau, J. F., steamboat clerk, 116.
Berger, Jacob, river engineer, 117.
"Berlin," steamboat, 143.
Bersie, Hiram, river captain, 117.
Berthold, Bartholemew, St. Louis pioneer, 187.
"Bertrand," steamboat, 138, 141.
Bertrand (Mich.), route via, 192.
Bett, Thomas H., steamboat clerk, 117.
Biddle, Maj. Thomas, Jr., sketch, 108.
Bidwell, H. B., "Seventy-five years a resident of Waukesha," 59; death, 58.
Biesong, Andrae, river pilot, 117.
Bigelow, Volney A., river captain, 117.
Bill, E. C., steamboat builder, 117.

Index

Bill, Fred A., steamboat clerk, 117.
"Bill Henderson," steamboat, 125.
Billings, Frederick, railroad financier, 79.
Bipell, James L., river pilot, 117.
Bipette, Paul, river pilot, 117.
Bisbee, ——, river captain, 117.
Bishop, Collins, memorial, 58.
Bismarck (N. D.), state capital, 79, 83.
Bissell, James, river captain, 117.
Black, James T., river pilot, 117, 145.
Black Hawk, meets Gen. Gaines, 137.
"Black Hawk," steamboat, 128, 135, 137, 144.
Black Hills, settlement begun, 77; miners, 83.
Black River Falls, founder, 206; route via, 217.
"Black Rover," steamboat, 109.
Blaine, James G., *Twenty Years of Congress*, 70, 73.
Blair, Francis, on excursion, 99.
Blair, Walter A., river captain, 117, 145.
Blaisdell, Nathan, river engineer, 118.
Blaisdell, William A., river engineer, 118.
Blake, W. H., river captain, 118.
Blakeley, Capt. Russell, on the river, 108, 114–118, 138; "Discovery of Mississippi," 118.
Blakeley, W., steamboat clerk, 118.
Blakesley, Lud., river pilot, 118.
Blakesley, Willis, river pilot, 118.
Blanchard, George A., in steamboat trade, 123.
Blanchard, W. H., officer Packet Co., 118.
Blish, George C., steamboat clerk, 118.
Bloomer, Edward, steamboat clerk, 118.
Bloomington (Ill.), first Republican state convention at, 61, 62.
Blopond, C. D., on river-boat, 118.
Boggs, William, river engineer, 118.
Boise (Idaho), constitutional convention at, 92.
Boland, James, river captain, 118.
Boland, William, on river-boat, 118.
"Bon Accord," steamboat, 117, 139.
Boon, B. H., steamboat clerk, 118.
"Boreas," steamboat, 116, 125, 139.
Bouchea, Peter F., raft pilot, 118, 133, 137.
Bowen, C. J., steamboat clerk, 118.
Bowers, E. E., steamboat clerk, 118.
Bowman, Robert, mate on river-boat, 119.
Boyce, Samuel, river captain, 119.
Boyd, J. F., river captain, 119.
Bradley, Charles, Wisconsin pioneer, 181, 192, 194, 196, 200.
Bradley, Elvira, friend visits, 188.
Bradley, Samantha, friend visits, 188.
Bradley, Stephen, Illinois pioneer, 195, 196.
Brady, ——, river captain, 119.
Brassau, George, river captain, 119.
"Brazil," steamboat, 115, 120, 122, 130, 132, 140, 143.
Bread, Daniel, Oneida Indian, 155.
Breck, Rev. J. Lloyd, Episcopal missionary, 212.
Breckinridge, John C., opposes Lincoln, 65.
Brickle, ——, river captain, 119.
"Bridgewater," steamboat, 116, 127.
Brierley, F. H., steamboat clerk, 119.
Briggs, ——, river captain, 119.
Briggs, William, river engineer, 119.
Brighton (O.), route via, 189.
Brisbois, Michael Jr., Prairie du Chien pioneer, 212.
Brisbois, William M., river pilot, 119.
British Columbia, joins Dominion, 84.
Britt's Landing, boat sunk at, 127, 144.
Brock, ——, river captain, 125.
Bromwell, Henry P. H., Illinois congressman, 69.
Bronson (Mich.), route via, 191.
Bronson, S. E., "Noble C. Kirk," 56.
Brooke, Gen. George S., Fort Howard commandant, 183.
Brooks, John, river captain, 119.
Brooks, Leonard T., steamboat clerk, 119.
Brothertown Indians, missionary, 152, 153.
Brown, ——, Sparta pioneer, 217.
Brown, Charles E., letter cited, 59.
Brown, L., river captain, 119.
Brown, Lewis, steamboat clerk, 119.
Brown, Sherman, river pilot, 119.
Browning, Orville H., Whig leader, 61; succeeds Douglas in Senate, 61, 66; supports Pres. Johnson, 70; fails of re-election, 67; Liberal Republican, 73.
Brownsville (Pa.), ship-yards, 105.
Bryant, ——, in steamboat trade, 110.
Bryant, ——, steamboat clerk, 119.
Bryce, James, *American Commonwealth*, 79, 80.
Bryson, Alonzo, river captain, 119.
Buchanan, James, supporters, 64, 75.

Index

Buck, Solon J., "Settlement of Oklahoma," cited, 87.
"Buckeye," steamboat, 117.
Buffalo County, history of, 202.
Buffington, G. A., river captain, 119.
Buford, L. D., steamboat clerk, 119.
Buford, Thomas, river captain, 119.
Buisson, Joseph, river pilot, 119.
Bunk, R. C., steamboat clerk, 120.
Bunnell, Dr. ——, La Crosse pioneer, 210.
Bunnell, Bill, La Crosse pioneer, 209, 210, 213.
Bunnell, Frances, visits La Crosse, 209, 212.
Burdeau, I. F., steamboat clerk, 120.
Burke, William, river captain, 120, 128.
"Burlington," steamboat, 145.
Burnham, O. J., steamboat clerk, 120.
Burns, Thomas, river pilot, 120, 145.
Burns, Timothy, La Crosse pioneer, 214.
Burr, Aaron, law-office, 213.
Bush, P. S., Kentucky settler, 102.
Butler, William, river captain, 120.
Byars, William V. (ed.), *American Commoner*, 95.
Byrne, Joseph F., steamboat clerk, 120.

Cahalin, Edward, river pilot, 120, 130, 132.
California (Ky.), ship-yards, 105.
Calumet County, Indian dance in, 167.
"Camden," steamboat, 128.
Cameron, ——, river captain, 120.
Cameron, Peter, La Crosse pioneer, 203.
Campbell, Benjamin H., steamboat owner, 120.
Campbell, Ivan R., on keel-boat, 120.
Campbell, James W., river captain, 120; aid acknowledged, 97.
Campbell, Jones & Co., grocers, 120.
Canada, provinces of, 84.
"Canada," steamboat, 125, 134, 135, 139, 146.
Canadian Pacific Railway, completed, 84.
Cannon, Joseph, Illinois congressman, 69.
Canton (S. Dak.), statehood convention at, 81.
Card, Rev. W. H., Baptist missionary, 215, 218.
Carlton, E., steamboat clerk, 120.
Carlyle, ——, river captain, 120.
Carpenter, Mrs. Laura G., presents reminiscences, 59.
Carr, ——, "A Brief Sketch," 214.
Carran, A., steamboat clerk, 120.
Carroll, Charles D., steamboat clerk, 120.
Carroll, James H., river pilot, 120.
Carver, J. L., river engineer, 120.
Casey, ——, steamboat clerk, 121.
Cass, Lewis, favors compromise of 1850, 62.
Catlin, George, artist, 109.
"Cavalier," steamboat, 140.
Cazenovia (N. Y.), seminary at, 154.
"Cecelia," steamboat, 145.
"Centennial," steamboat, 131.
Century Magazine, 93.
Ceresco, community settlement, 198.
Chamberlain, Clarence A., steamboat clerk, 121.
Chambers, Ludlow, river captain, 121.
Champlin, A. T., river captain, 121
Chapman, ——, pioneer journey, 216, 217.
"Charles Rodgers," steamboat, 143, 147.
Chase, Salmon P., statesman, 63.
Chawanon, Menominee chief, 172; grandson, 174.
Cheek, U., steamboat clerk, 121.
Cheyenne (Wyo.), constitutional convention at, 92.
"Chian," steamboat, 141.
Chicago, early mail service, 149; route via, 195; *Democrat*, 61.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, 98.
Chipmunk coulee, near La Crosse, 218.
Chippewa Indians, habitat, 162.
"Chippewa," steamboat, 119, 122, 127, 141.
"Chippewa Falls," steamboat, 126.
Chouteau, Pierre, St. Louis pioneer, 187.
Cincinnati (O.), ship-yards, 105.
"City Belle," steamboat, 113, 121, 134, 135.
"City of Quincy," steamboat, 125, 147.
"City of St. Paul," steamboat, 128, 138.
"Clara Hine," steamboat, 125, 131.
"Clarion," steamboat, 115, 126, 131.
Clark, ——, river engineer, 105.
Clark, Daniel, congressman, 65.
Clark, J., river captain, 109, 121.
Clark, Rev. John, missionary among Oneida, 152, 153.
Clark, Warren L., steamboat owner, 121.
Clark, William A., president Montana constitutional convention, 89.
Clark's Landing, boat burned at, 121.
Clark's Mills, Indian camp, 162, 163.
Clarksfield Hollow (O.), route via, 189.
Clay, Henry, in Congress, 61, 62.

Index

Clayton, Miss R. J., married, 218.
"Clermont," Fulton's steamboat, 99–101.
"Clermont No. 2," steamboat, 139.
Cleveland, Pres. Grover, appointments, 89, 99, 120; signs bills, 88, 92.
Clifford, A. A., steamboat clerk, 121.
Clifford, Ray P., steamboat clerk, 121.
Cline, ——, river captain, 121.
Clinton, De Witt, promotes steamboat navigation, 99.
Clune, Steve, river engineer, 121.
Cochrane, John, river captain, 121.
Cœur d' Alene mines, discovered, 88, 89.
Coffin, Charles A., steamboat clerk, 121.
Coldwater (Mich.), route via, 191, 192.
Cole, George B., river captain, 121.
Cole, H. E., president Sauk County Historical Society, 57.
Coleman, Andrew, river pilot, 119, 121.
Coleman, James, river pilot, 121.
Colman, Charles L., Wisconsin pioneer, 154, 157.
Colman, Elihu, sketch, 154.
Colman, Rev. Henry, "Recollections of Oneida Indians," 152–159; sketch, 154.
Colman, Rev. Henry R., Indian missionary, 152–155; sketch, 153.
Colman, Joseph S., lumber dealer, 154.
Colman, Julia, author, 154.
"Colonel A. McKenzie," snag-boat, 145.
"Colonel Bumford," keel-boat, 111, 129.
"Colonel Morgan," steamboat, 125.
Colorado, negro suffrage in, 71; admitted as state, 81, 90.
Columbia Law School, 213.
Columbia Trading Company, 108.
Comebacker, Mrs. A., residence, 119.
"Comet," steamboat, 102.
"Commerce," steamboat, 142.
Comstock, M. C., river captain, 121.
Conager, William, mate on steamboat, 121.
Condler, J., steamboat clerk, 121.
"Conestoga" steamboat, 146.
"Conewago," steamboat, 146.
"Confidence," steamboat, 130.
Conger, Ben A., river captain, 121.
Congressional Globe, 65, 68, 75; *Record*, 82, 84, 86–89, 92.
Conley, P. H., president of Lafayette County Historical Society, 55.
Connelly, P., river captain, 121.
Connelly, Thomas, river engineer, 121.
Conner, Thomas D., river captain, 121.
Connolly, M., steamboat clerk, 121.
"Consul," steamboat, 137.
Conway, William, river captain, 121.
Cook, B. C., Illinois congressman, 71.
Cook, Samuel, steamboat clerk, 122.
Cooke, Jay, railroad financier, 78, 79.
Cooley, K. C., steamboat clerk, 122.
Cooley, O. H. P., steamboat clerk, 122.
Coolidge, L. A., *Old-Fashioned Senator*, 86.
Coon Slough, boat accidents in, 115, 120, 122, 124, 129, 131, 133, 140.
Coon's Point, pioneers, 171, 173.
Coones, ——, river captain, 122.
Cooper, J. C., steamboat clerk, 122.
"Cora," steamboat, 145.
Cordry, Thomas, mate of steamboat, 122.
Cormack, Gideon, river pilot, 122.
Cormack, John, river pilot, 122.
Cormack, Pleasant, river pilot, 122.
Cornelius, Henry, Oneida Indian, 157.
Cornelius, Jacob, Oneida Indian, 155, 157, 158.
Cornelius, John, Oneida Indian, 157, 158.
Cornelius, Moses, Oneida Indian, 156.
Cornish, Dr. A. B., Illinois pioneer, 196.
Cornish's Ferry (Ill.), route via, 195, 196.
Cosmopolitan, 85.
Cossen, ——, river captain, 122.
"Courier," steamboat, 132.
Cowin, A. H., steamboat clerk, 122.
Cowles, Charles W., steamboat builder, 122.
Cox, Samuel S., congressman, 90, 91, 94.
Cox, William Van Z., *Life of Cox*, 91, 95.
Crapster, W. H., river captain, 122.
Crawford, ——, missionary among Oneida, 152.
Crawford, ——, river captain, 108.
Crosby, J. S., governor of Montana, report, 89.
Crossle, Henry, on river-boat, 122.
Crow Indians, report, 83.
Crowe, Miss ——, river trip, 109.
Crowley, ——, steamboat clerk, 122.
Cullom, Shelby M., Illinois congressman, 64, 69, 71.
Culver, ——, river captain, 109, 122.
Cupp, William, river captain, 122.
Cushing, William B., naval officer, 59.
Cushing, Thomas, river captain, 122.
Custer, Gen. George A., Indian fighter, 77.

Index

DAKOTA, organized as territory, 77; capitals, 79; growth, 80, 84, 85; statehood discussed, 81–87; constitutional conventions, 82, 84; names proposed, 83; omnibus bill includes, 91, 92; division, 92; admitted, 93; population, 94.
"Dakota," steamboat, 117.
Dale, John. See La Chandelle.
Dales, ——, steamboat clerk, 122.
"Damsel," steamboat, 123, 125.
Dana, Charles A., on excursion, 99.
Dandy, Winnebago chief, 211.
"Dan Hine," steamboat, 125.
Darien, route via, 197.
Darling, Lucinda S., married, 154.
Darst, ——, steamboat clerk, 122.
Darst, David, La Crosse pioneer murdered, 218.
"Davenport," steamboat, 130.
Davidson, Edward E., father, 123.
Davidson, M. L., steamboat owner, 122.
Davidson, Peyton S., river captain, 122; boat-yards, 147.
Davidson, Sallie, father, 123.
Davidson, Thomas L., river captain, 123.
Davidson, William F., river captain, 123.
Davidson White Collar Line, 120, 123, 131, 132, 134, 135, 142, 147, 148.
Davis, C. K., speech, 86.
Davis, Charles, river pilot, 123.
Davis, Daniel, river pilot, 123.
Davis, David, Illinois congressman, 61, 73–76.
Davis, John B., river captain, 123.
Davis, Rev. Solomon, missionary among Oneida, 155.
Dawley, A. H., steamboat clerk, 123.
Dawley, Daniel G., river captain, 123.
Dawley, Daniel V., steamboat clerk, 123.
Dawley, Edward V., steamboat clerk, 113.
Day, Capt. Hannibal, river trip, 109.
Day, Henry R., river captain, 123.
Day, James S., on river-boat, 124.
Dayer, W., on river-boat, 124.
Deadwood (S. Dak.), growth, 77.
Dean, William, river captain, 127.
Dean, William, mate of river-boat, 124.
"Delaware," steamboat, 144.
De Marah, Louis, river pilot, 124.
Deming, R. G., steamboat clerk, 124.
Democrats, support Union, 61, 62, 65–67, 69–71, 74.
"Denmark," steamboat, 127, 137, 141.
Denny, John, steamboat carpenter, 124.
De Pere, pioneer, 149; fur-traders, 170.
Deering, William, manufacturer, 180.
"Des Moines City," steamboat, 125.
Detroit, route via, 149; American garrison at, 150; British, 172.
"Dew Drop," steamboat, 139.
"Diamond," steamboat, 131, 141.
"Diamond Jo," steamboat, 117, 120–122, 130, 138, 140, 143.
Diamond Jo Line, 117–120, 122–124, 133, 136–138, 143–145, 148.
"Dick Clyde," steamboat, 147.
Dickinson, ——, river captain, 124.
Dierdorff, William O., on river-boat, 124.
Dikeman, W. W., river pilot, 124.
Diley, George, river engineer, 124.
Dinan, ——, steamboat clerk, 124.
Dinan, J. W., steamboat clerk, 124.
Dintock, W., steamboat clerk, 124.
District of Columbia, negro suffrage in, 71.
"Di Vernon," steamboat, 125, 128, 130.
Dix, John A., on excursion, 99.
"Dr. Franklin," steamboat, 118, 119, 131, 135, 138, 148.
"Dr. Franklin No. 2," steamboat, 129, 135, 137.
Dodd, W. E., "Fight for Northwest, 1860," 65.
Dodge, Leroy, river captain, 124.
Dodge, Tom, river engineer, 124.
Dolph, Joseph N., U. S. senator, 88.
Dolson, L., river engineer, 124.
Dolson, Stephen, river pilot, 124.
Dolson, Thomas, river pilot, 124.
Dolson, William, river pilot, 124.
"Don," steamboat, 121.
Donaldson, Mrs. ——, entertainer, 59.
Doolittle James R., Wisconsin statesman, 62, 65–67, 70–74; sketch, 70.
Doty, James D., pioneer judge, 181, 185.
Douglas, Stephen A., Illinois statesman, 61–68.
Douglass, Frederick, abolitionist, 63.
Dousman, Jane, Wisconsin pioneer, 149, 151.
Dousman, John, Green Bay pioneer, 149, 150.
Dousman, Michael, Mackinac resident, 150.
Dousman, Rosalie, Green Bay pioneer, 149–151.
"Dove," steamboat, 137.
Downer, H. E., aid acknowledged, 97.
Doxtater, Aunt Polly, sketch, 184.
Draper, Lyman C., corresponds with Joseph Ducharme, 149.

Index

Drenning, Thomas G., river pilot, 124.
Dubois, Joseph D., steamboat clerk, 124.
"Dubuque," steamboat, 115, 116, 120, 121, 125, 130, 139, 140, 143.
Ducharme, Joseph (son of following), "Episode of War of 1812," 149–151.
Ducharme, Col. Joseph, Green Bay pioneer, 149, 150.
Duck Creek, Oneida mission at, 152–157.
Dull & Williams, government contractors, 147.
Duluth (Minn.), land speculations at, 78, 79.
Dunn, Charles, steamboat clerk, 124.
Dunning, William A., article cited, 60.
Durant, E. W., river pilot, 124.
Durham boats, 173, 176.
Durkee, Charles, Wisconsin congressman, 62, 65.

EAGLE, Open Door Club entertains, 59.
"Eau Claire," steamboat, 147.
"Eclipse," steamboat, 109, 134.
Eddy, Charles, steamboat clerk, 124.
Eden, Robert C., river captain, 124.
Edgerton, A. J., Dakota statesman, 84.
"Editor," steamboat, 119, 126, 137, 143.
"Edith," steamboat, 147.
"Edward Bates," steamboat, 116.
Edwards, Mrs. Luella Parks, on advisory committee Waukesha County Historical Society, 58.
Edwards Prairie (Mich.), route via, 142.
Eldred, ——, La Crosse sheriff, 218.
"Eliza," steamboat, 120, 144.
Elizabeth (Pa.), ship-yards, 105.
Elk Grove (Ill.), route via, 195.
Elmore, Andrew E., Indian trader, 162.
Elmore, James H., letter cited, 58, 59.
"Emelia," steamboat, 133.
"Emerald," steamboat, 125.
English, Mrs. J. E., reads Lapham's field notes, 57; "Our People of the Fifties," 56.
"Enterprise," steamboat (1814), 102–104, 109; sunk, 110.
"Enterprise," steamboat (1861), 98, 116, 126, 129, 137–139, 148.
"Envoy," steamboat, 120, 137, 141, 143.
Episcopalians, at La Crosse, 212; Oneida missions, 152, 153.
"Equator," steamboat, 127, 132, 134, 141, 146.
Esterly, George, manufacturer, 177.
Estes, J. B., river captain, 124.
"Eugene Avery," steamboat, 117.
"Evaline," steamboat, 127.
Evans, D. C., La Crosse pioneer, 218.
Evansville, seminary at, 154.
"Excelsior," steamboat, 119, 121, 124, 130, 139, 140, 146, 147.
Excelsior Harvester Works, 180.
"Express," steamboat, 141.

"FALCON," steamboat, 125, 138.
Falge, Louis, "Medical Profession of Manitowoc County," 55.
"Falls City," steamboat, 114, 126, 135, 140, 147, 148.
Fanning, John, river engineer, 124.
"Fanny Harris," steamboat, 98, 115, 117, 120, 122, 125, 126, 128, 135, 136, 143, 145, 146, 148.
Fargo (N. Dak.), pioneers, 83.
Farley, John P., steamboat clerk, 125.
Farnsworth, Miss ——, river trip, 109.
Farnsworth, J., river trip, 109.
Farnsworth, John B., Illinois congressman, 63, 65, 68.
Farris, Charles H., river pilot, 125.
Farris, Robert, river captain, 125.
Faucette, William, river captain, 125.
Fay, ——, river captain, 109, 125.
"Favorite," steamboat, 122.
"Fayette," steamboat, 146.
Federlein, George, La Crosse pioneer, 203.
Ferrall, John, steamboat clerk, 125.
Field, Rev. Julius, superintendent Indian missions, 153.
Fifield, Sam S., on "Kate Cassell," 98.
Fifteenth amendment, vote on, 72.
Fifth Wisconsin Infantry, officer, 160.
Fillmore, Millard, vice-president, 62, 69, 99.
Finney, John, steamboat clerk, 125.
"Fire Canoe," steamboat, 116, 144–146.
First Wisconsin Cavalry, sergeant, 154.
Fisher, William, river pilot, 123, 125, 132.
Fithian, Thomas M., on river-boat, 125.
Flaherty, Thomas F., river captain, 125.
Flanigan, P., river engineer, 125.
Fond du Lac, early church services, 153.
Foote, Alvin, on pioneer journey, 188, 189, 194, 198, 200.
Foote, Harriet, parents, 200.
Foote, Henry, Wisconsin pioneer, 198, 200.
Foote, John, Wisconsin pioneer, 198, 200.
Foote, Mrs. Laura, Wisconsin pioneer, 200.

Foote, Lucy, on pioneer journey, 188, 194.
Foote, Mary, on pioneer journey, 188, 194.
Foote, Orlena, parents on pioneer journey, 188, 194.
Foote, Percival, journey from Ohio, 188–200.
Foote, Mrs. Percival, journey from Ohio, 188–200.
Foote, Sarah, "Wagon Journey from Ohio to Wisconsin in 1846," 188–200; sketch, 188.
Ford, Rufus, river captain, 125.
Forse, William, on river-boat, 125.
Fort Atkinson, route via, 197.
Forts: Crawford, 181. Dearborn, 149, 163. Donelson, 120. Erie, 108. Henry, 120. Howard, 182–184. Snelling, 108–111, 116, 120, 125, 140. Sumter, 65.
"Fortune," steamboat, 115.
Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, officer, 120.
Fourteenth amendment, vote on, 71.
"Frank Steele," steamboat, 123, 130, 137.
Franklin, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
Franz, August, river pilot, 125.
Frasier, D. M., on river-boat, 125.
Frazier, William N., steamboat clerk, 125.
"Fred Lorenz," steamboat, 137, 139.
Freeman, G. Y., "Pioneer Lawyers of Trempealeau County," 57, 58.
Free-soil party, helps form Republican, 61.
"Freighter," steamboat, 123.
French, ——, river captain, 125.
French, ——, steamboat clerk, 125.
Frick, C. J., steamboat clerk, 125.
"Frontier," steamboat, 129.
Fulton, L., river captain, 126.
Fulton, Robert, steamboat inventor, 99.
Fulton-Livingston Co., 101, 104.
Furman, Charles, steamboat clerk, 126.

"G. B. Knapp," steamboat, 133.
"G. H. Gray," steamboat, 128, 130.
"G. H. Wilson," steamboat, 120, 148.
"G. W. Sparhawk," steamboat, 116.
Gabbert, William H., river captain, 114, 126.
Gaines, Gen. E. P., at Rock Island, 137.
Gaines, John, keel-boatman, 126.
"Galena," steamboat, 98, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121–124, 127–129, 131, 133–135, 137, 140, 143–145.
"Galena" (new), steamboat, 138.
"Galenian," steamboat, 140, 141.
Galland, W., steamboat clerk, 126.
Galvin, Dennis, river engineer, 126.
Gammon & Deering, manufacturers, 179.
Gardapie, Joe, river pilot, 126.
"Garden City," steamboat, 138, 140.
Garfield, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
"Gate City," steamboat, 125.
Gates, ——, Kilbourn pioneer, 216.
Gaynor, Patrick, river pilot, 126.
Gear, H. H., river captain, 126.
"Gem City," steamboat, 125.
"General Brooke," steamboat, 127, 133, 145.
"General Pike," steamboat, 118, 142.
"George S. Weeks," steamboat, 147.
German-Americans, political affiliations, 62, 63, 73.
Gerry, Elbridge, on excursion, 99.
Giddings, Joshua, abolitionist, 63.
Gilbert, ——, river captain, 126.
Gill, Charles F., on river-boat, 126.
Gillette, William, river captain, 116, 126.
Gilman, Sam A., steamboat clerk, 126.
Gilpatrick, Henry, river pilot, 126.
"Gipsy," steamboat, 127.
Girdon, G. R., steamboat clerk, 126.
Girdon, George W., river captain, 126.
"Glaucus," steamboat, 115.
Gleim, Ben V., steamboat clerk, 126.
Gleim, E. H., river captain, 126; steamboat clerk, 127.
Glenn, William, river engineer, 127.
"Globe," steamboat, 130.
Glover, Col. Peleg, Manitowoc pioneer, 168.
Gody, Alexander, river pilot, 127.
"Golden Eagle," steamboat burned, 115.
"Golden Era," steamboat, 115, 117, 123, 124, 126, 128, 132, 134, 139, 142, 146.
"Golden State," steamboat, 128, 142, 146.
Goldsmith, B., on river-boat, 127.
Goll, Cephas B., river captain, 127.
Goll, John, river pilot, 127, 131.
"Gondola," steamboat, 123.
Goodell, ——, river captain, 127.
Gordon, Gen. George, relief expedition for, 142, 146.
Gorman, M. E., steamboat clerk, 127.
Gossett, John, river pilot, 127.
Gossett, William, river pilot, 127.
Gould, E. W., *History of Navigation on Mississippi for Fifty Years*, 104, 105, 107.

Index

"Governor Dodge," steamboat, 115.
"Governor Ramsey," steamboat, 141.
Grand Butte des Morts, first settlers, 170; rival to Oshkosh, 174.
Grand Forks (N. Dak.), pioneers, 83; university at, 87.
"Grand Prairie," steamboat, 129, 130, 140.
"Granite State," steamboat, 126, 131.
Grant, Baliph, Wisconsin pioneer, 196, 198.
Grant, Ulysses S., policy, 72, 73; *Memoirs*, 64, 68.
Gray, ——, river captain, 127.
Gray, Isaac, river captain, 127.
Gray, R. C., river captain, 127.
Gray, Capt. U. C., brother, 127.
Great Northern Railway, agent, 130.
"Greek Slave," steamboat, 127, 136, 141, 148.
Greeley, Horace, on excursion, 99.
Green, ——, on river-boat, 127.
Green, ——, steamboat clerk, 127.
Green, Ann, marries, 181.
Green, Asa B., river captain, 127.
Green, Thomas, Green Bay pioneer, 181.
Green Bay, British at, 172; first American citizen, 149; settlers, 170, 181; described, 181, 182; route via, 153.
Greene, Evarts Boutell, "Some Aspects of Middle Western Politics," 60–76; portrait, *frontispiece*.
Greene, Montraville, river captain, 127.
Greenlee, ——, river captain, 127.
Gregg, Cephas, steamboat clerk, 127.
"Grey Cloud," steamboat, 114, 130, 141.
"Grey Eagle," steamboat, 116, 119, 127, 128, 131, 140, 147.
Griffith, Thomas L., signs license, 132.
Griffiths, James, river engineer, 127.
Griffiths, Thomas H., river captain, 127, 128.
Grignon, Augustin, at Butte des Morts, 170.
Grignon, Charles, Oshkosh pioneer, 171.
Grignon, Robert, Oshkosh pioneer, 171.
Grinnell, S., steamboat clerk, 128.
Grosvenor, C. H., speech, 92.

"H. S. Allen," steamboat, 98, 118, 127, 130, 132, 142.
Haight, T. W., suggests Cushing memorial, 59.
Hailey, John, *History of Idaho*, 87.
Haines, Ben E., on river-boat, 128.
Haldimand, Gen. Frederick, grants Indian certificate, 172, 174.
Hale, ——, river captain, 128.
Hale, Eugene, speech, 82, 83.
Hall, Alfred, steamboat clerk, 128.
Hall, Dan, mate of river-boat, 128.
Hall, Capt. Daniel, aid acknowledged, 97; deck hand, 118.
Hall, Mrs. Mary B., husband, 128.
Hall, Peter, river captain, 128; pilot, 142.
Hall, Wilfred F., river pilot, 128.
Halliday, Edward W., steamboat clerk, 128.
Halstead, Rev. Jesse, missionary to Indians, 152, 153.
"Hamburg," steamboat, 124, 126, 134, 141, 144.
Hamer's Corners (O.), route via, 189.
Hamilton, "Billy," river engineer, 117.
Hamilton, William H., river engineer, 128.
"Hamilton," steamboat, 107.
Hamilton College, graduate, 215.
Hamilton's Prairie (Ind.), route via, 193.
Hann, Peter, river pilot, 128.
Hanna, Phil., river captain, 109.
"Hannibal," steamboat, 125.
Haraszthy, Count Agoston, in steamboat trade, 110.
Hardesty, John, river engineer, 128.
Hargins, M., Michigan pioneer, 192.
Hargus, Charles G., steamboat clerk, 98, 128.
Harlow, Sam, river captain, 128.
Harold, George, river pilot, 128.
Harold, Pembroke, river pilot, 129.
Harper's Magazine, cited, 95.
Harris, Abigail B., sons, 111.
Harris, Daniel S., river captain, 98, 111, 129, 132, 144.
Harris, Electa, marries, 131.
Harris, Jackson, in steamboat trade, 111; pilot, 129.
Harris, James, sons, 111.
Harris, James M., in steamboat trade, 111, 129.
Harris, John S., "Another La Crosse Pioneer's Statement," 216.
Harris, Martin K., river captain, 111, 115, 129.
Harris, Nathaniel, river captain, 129.
Harris, Oliver, revenue cutter clerk, 129.
Harris, Robert S., river engineer, 111, 129.
Harris Slough, cut off, 129.
"Harmonia," steamboat, 115.

Index

Harrison, Gen. Benjamin, president, 90, 95; cited, 83, 85.
Hart, ——, La Crosse pioneer, 214.
Harton, T. M., steamboat clerk, 129.
Hart Prairie, machine shops at, 177.
Hartshorn, W. E., steamboat clerk, 129.
Harwood, E., steamboat clerk, 129.
Haskins, H., river captain, 129.
Hatcher, J. R., river captain, 130.
Hatcher, N. S., steamboat clerk, 130.
Hatcher, Pole, steamboat clerk, 130.
Hauser, Samuel T., territorial governor, 89.
Havlin, A., steamboat clerk, 130.
"Hawkeye State," steamboat, 127, 137.
Hawkins, H. C., steamboat clerk, 130.
Hawkins, J. F., on river-boat, 130.
Hay, ——, river captain, 130.
Haycock, ——, river captain, 130.
Haydon, A. L., *Riders of Plains*, 84.
Hays, J. P., steamboat clerk, 130.
Hayes, Rutherford B., president, 81.
Hawks, Nelson, Waukesha County pioneer, 59.
Hazzard, Daniel, steamboat clerk, 130.
Hazzard, George H., river captain, 130; aid acknowledged, 97.
Healy, B. B., La Crosse pioneer, 218.
Healy, George P., artist, 162.
Heinz's Mills, sawmill, 163.
Helena (Mont.), constitutional convention at, 89.
Henderson, "Billy," on river-boats, 130.
Henderson, R. M., on river-boat, 130.
Henderson, William, steamboat clerk, 130.
"Henrietta," steamboat, 127, 130.
"Henry Clay," steamboat, 119, 120, 122, 123, 127, 139, 143.
"Henry Graff," steamboat, 136, 144.
Hensel, E. F., on advisory committee, Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
"Herald," steamboat, 144.
"Hercules," dredge, 147.
Herdman, ——, river captain, 130.
"Hermione," steamboat, 129.
Herndon, William H., Illinois Republican, 74.
"Heroine," steamboat, 126, 143, 145.
Herriott, ——, cited, 63.
Hewes, ——, river captain, 107.
Hewitt, I., steamboat clerk, 130.
Hewitt, Stephen, river captain, 130.
"Hibernian," steamboat, 131, 138.
Hickman, Nathaniel P., river engineer, 130.
Hicks, Col. John, presents statue to Oshkosh, 170.
Hidasta, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
"Highland Mary," steamboat, 112, 115.
"Highlander," steamboat, 127, 131.
Hight, Washington, river captain, 130, 132.
Hight, William P., river captain, 130, 136.
Hill, James J., promoter, 85.
Hill, Thomas, river captain, 130.
Hillhouse, William, river captain, 130.
Hills, F. J. steamboat clerk, 131.
Hinde, Charles T., clerk in Packet Co., 131.
"Hindoo," steamboat, 128.
Hine, Adams, on river-boat, 131.
Hine, Louis L., river captain, 131.
Hinman, R. B., on river-boat, 131.
Hoberton, Herman, treasurer Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
Hoffman, ——, river captain, 131.
Holcombe, E. V., owns steamboat, 119; captain, 131.
Holcombe, W., river captain, 131.
Holland, Perry, mate of river-boat, 131.
Hollcroft, ——, river captain, 131.
Hollowell, N. K., river captain, 131.
Holmead, C. S., steamboat clerk, 131.
Holmes, Lafayette, river pilot, 117, 131.
Holmes, William S., steamboat clerk, 131.
"Honduras," steamboat, 137.
Hood, William, surveys La Crosse, 214.
Hooper, W. H., river captain, 131.
Hoover, Allen & Gamble, manufacturers, 180.
"Hope No. 2," steamboat, 127, 128, 142.
Hopkins, E. R., steamboat clerk, 131.
Horton, Charles, steamboat clerk, 131.
Horton, ——, fur-trader, 209.
Hotelling, Peter, river captain, 131.
Howard, Wilder M., "Reminiscences of 1836," 59.
Howe, Timothy O., Wisconsin statesman, 66, 67, 73.
Hudson's Bay Company, boat service, 142.
Hulbert, Archer B., *Ohio River*, 100, 102, 103, 105.
Humbertson, George, river captain, 131, 145.
Humphrey, James, Walworth County pioneer, 197.
Humphrey, Joseph, Walworth County pioneer, 197.
Hunt, Campbell, river pilot, 131.

Hunt, Hiram, river engineer, 131.
Hunt, James S., river engineer, 132.
Hunt, John, on river-boat, 132.
Hunt, Phil K., steamboat clerk, 132.
Hunt, W. E., river captain, 132.
Hunter, James N., vice-president Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
"Huntsville," steamboat, 131, 138.
Hurd, J. Y., river captain, 132.
"Huron," steamboat, 135.
Huron (S. Dak.), constitutional convention at, 82. 94.
Huron Institute (O), student, 214.
Hustleby, John, steamboat owner, 132.
Hutchinson, A. M., river captain, 132.
Hutchinson, O. S., steamboat clerk, 132.
Hynson, George W., steamboat clerk, 132.

"Ida Fulton," steamboat, 117, 119, 124, 135.
Idaho, organized as territory, 77, 80, 87; mining population, 79; growth, 80; constitutional convention, 92; admitted, 93.
"Illinois," steamboat, 135, 140.
Illinois, early Republican party, 61; first convention, 61, 62; speaker of house, 64; congressional delegations, 66, 70–73; constitutional convention, 66, 67; governors, 69; Historical Society *Journal*, 70; *Transactions*, 63; *State Journal*, 64; University, 75.
"Imperial," steamboat, 117.
"Independence," steamboat, 107.
"Indian Queen," steamboat, 123, 142.
Indian Territory, desires statehood, 81.
"Indiana," steamboat, 107, 109, 125.
Ingalls, John J., speech, 82.
"Ione," steamboat, 115, 136, 146.
"Iowa," steamboat, 117, 131, 138.
Iowa county, pioneers, 214.
Iowa State Historical Society, aid acknowledged, 97.
"Irene," steamboat, 115, 117.
"Iron City," steamboat, 114, 125.
Irvin, David, Green Bay pioneer, 182, 184, 186.
Irvine, ——, river captain, 132.
Isherwood, Thomas G., on river-boats, 132.
"Island City," steamboat, 121.
Islands: Bad Ax, 139. Barroe's, 202. Enterprise, 110. Hickory, 142. Nine Mile, 147.
Ismon, Rebecca E., married, 202.

"Itasca," steamboat, 120, 122, 131, 132, 147.

"J. Bissell," steamboat, 117.
"J. McKee," steamboat, 132.
"J. S.," steamboat, 136, 138.
Jackson, Gen. Andrew, impresses steamboat, 102; at New Orleans, 103; president, 103.
Jackson's Point, near Oshkosh, 171.
"Jacob Traber," steamboat, 122.
"James Lyon," steamboat, 118.
"James Raymond," steamboat, 125.
James, ——, river captain, 132.
Jameson, ——, river captain, 132.
"Jeannette Roberts," steamboat, 116, 141.
Jefferson, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
"Jennie Whipple," steamboat, 147.
"Jenny Lind," steamboat, 128.
"Jesse B," steamboat, 117.
"Jesse Bill," steamboat, 117.
Jenks, J. B., river captain, 132.
Jewell, Charles, river pilot, 132.
"Jo Daviess," steamboat, 111, 129.
"John C. Gault," steamboat, 126, 140, 143, 148.
"John Geddy," steamboat, 99.
"John Rumsey," steamboat, 129.
Johnson, Dr. ——, La Crosse pioneer, 218.
Johnson, Miss ——, river trip, 109.
Johnson, Pres. Andrew, reconstruction plan, 70, 71; impeachment of, 71, 72.
Johnson, E. A., steamboat clerk, 132.
Johnson, Mason, steamboat clerk, 132.
Johnson, W. C., steamboat clerk, 132.
Johnson, Sir William, British Indian agent, 172.
Jones, Gen. George W., river trip, 109.
Jones, J. Russell, in steamboat trade, 132.
Jonesville (Mich.), route via, 191.
Joseph, Antonio, delegate to Congress, 93.
"Josephine," steamboat, 109, 121, 135.
"Josie," steamboat, 117.
"Julia Dean," steamboat, 139.
Juneau, Solomon, friend of Waumegesako, 162.
Jung, Philip, La Crosse pioneer, 203, 207, 208.

"Kate Cassell," steamboat, 98, 118, 120, 122, 128, 142.
"Kate French," steamboat, 125.

Index

"Kate Kearney," steamboat, 144.
Katoose, Indian chief, 164–166.
Kaukauna, settlers at, 170.
Keach, John N., steamboat clerk, 132.
Keane, Gen. John, at battle of New Orleans, 103.
Keath, John R., steamboat clerk, 132.
Keel-boats, on Mississippi, 107, 108, 111.
"Keithsburg," steamboat, 144.
Kellogg, Simeon, La Crosse pioneer, 214.
Kellogg, William, Illinois Republican, 65.
Kelly, William, aid acknowledged, 97; river captain, 132.
Kelly, William, uncle, 120.
Kemper, Bishop Jackson, visits Oneida mission, 155.
Kempland, A., steamboat clerk, 133.
Kennett, S. M., river captain, 133.
Kent, ——, river captain, 133.
"Kentucky," steamboat, 115, 138.
Kent, Chancellor James, law office, 213.
"Kentucky No. 2," steamboat, 141.
"Keokuk," steamboat, 100, 128, 130, 131, 138.
Keokuk Northern Line, agent, 131.
Keokuk Packet Company, 138, 140.
Keshena Indian Reservation, teachers at, 151.
Ketcham, Mack, river engineer, 133.
"Key City," steamboat, 115, 117, 118, 120–122, 125, 136, 138, 140, 147, 148.
Killeen, John, aid acknowledged, 97; deck hand, 118, 133; captain, 133; cited, 140.
Kinestone, James, river engineer, 133.
King, George L., river captain, 133.
King, John, river pilot, 125, 133.
Kingman, A. T., river captain, 133.
Kintnor, John A., river engineer, 133.
Knaggs, James, Oshkosh pioneer, 171.
Knapp, George B., river captain, 126, 133.
Knapp, Oscar F., on river boats, 133.
Knight, ——, steamboat clerk, 133.
Koerner, Gustav, Illinois statesman, 62, 74–76.
Kossuth township, pioneers, 160, 164, 166.
Kuykendall, Andrew J., Illinois congressman, 68, 69, 71.

La Barge, Joseph, river captain, 109, 133.
La Blanc, Thomas, river pilot, 133.
Laborde, Rosalie, married, 149.
La Chandelle (John Dale), Indian chief, 163, 164.
La Chappelle, Gabriel, river pilot, 133.
Lacher, J. H. A., reads paper, 59.
Lackland, James R., steamboat clerk, 134.
Lackland, R. J., steamboat clerk, 134.
"Laclede," steamboat, 121, 146.
La Crosse, pioneers, 201–203, 206–211, 213–218; first churches, 212, 215; hotels, 217, 218; platted, 214; *Republican*, 207.
"La Crosse," steamboat, 119, 139.
La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad, promoter, 214.
La Crosse & St. Paul Packet Company, founder, 122.
La Due, A. B., La Crosse pioneer, 213, 214.
"Lady Franklin," steamboat, 121, 128, 135, 136, 139, 143, 144.
"Lady Washington," steamboat, 142.
Lafayette County Historical Society, report, 54, 55.
Lafferty, James, river captain, 133.
La Grew, Joe, river pilot, 133, 137.
"Lake City," steamboat, 118, 143.
Lakes: Crystal (Ill.), 195. Devil's (Mich.), 190. Michigan, 193–195. Minnetonka, 134, 147. Pepin, 145. St. Croix, 127, 132, 134. Winnebago-174.
Lamar, Charles, river captain, 134.
"Lamartine," steamboat, 132.
Lamb, ——, steamboat clerk, 134.
Lamont, Alexander, river captain, 134.
Lamont, George, river captain, 134.
Lamont, W. H., steamboat agent, 134.
Lancaster, John, steamboat owner, 134.
Lang, L. J. (ed.), *Autobiography of Thomas C. Platt*, 77.
Lannings, James, steamboat clerk, 134.
Lansing, R. G., steamboat clerk, 134.
Lapham, Increase A., field notes, 57.
Lapham, Miss Julia A., secretary Waukesha County Historical Society, 59; donor, 57.
La Pointe, Charles, river pilot, 134.
La Rock (La Rocque), Joseph, river pilot, 134.
Laughton, W. H., river captain, 114, 134, 147.
La Veille, Eugene, river pilot, 134.
La Veille, Thurdan, on river boat, 134.
Lawler, John, steamboat manager, 123.
"Lawrence," steamboat, 109.

Index

Lawrence College, charter, 153; students, 154, 157, 160.
Lay, John, river engineer, 134.
"Leander," steamboat, 131.
"Le Claire," steamboat, 147.
Lee, Ethelinda, missionary among Oneida, 152.
Lee, John, river captain, 134.
Legler, Henry E., "Wisconsin Place Names," 162.
"Lehigh," steamboat, 127.
Leidz, F., steamboat clerk, 135.
Leitch, George, river engineer, 135.
Leitch, Harry, aid acknowledged, 97; deck hand, 118; mate, 135; cited, 140.
Levy, Augusta, "Recollections of a Pioneer Woman of La Crosse," 201–215.
Levy, John M., Wisconsin pioneer, 201, 206–210, 212–214.
Levy, Willie, parents, 208, 209.
"Lewis F. Linn," steamboat, 133.
Lewis, George, river engineer, 135.
Lewis, William T., steamboat clerk, 135.
"Libbie Conger," steamboat, 117, 119, 121.
Liberty party, helps form Republican, 61, 62.
Liberty Pole, convention at, 207.
"Light foot," steamboat, 129, 138.
Lightner, J. H., steamboat clerk, 135.
"Lily," lighthouse tender, 120, 122, 131.
Lincoln, Abraham, Illinois statesman, 61–65, 68–70, 73–76; *Works* cited, 62, 63, 69.
Lincoln, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
Lindley, R. J., river pilot, 135.
"Little Dove," steamboat, 129.
"Little Red," steamboat, 143.
Littleton, M., river captain, 135.
Livingston, Edward, in steamboat business, 103, 104.
Livingston, Robert R., promotes steamboat navigation, 99.
Lloyd, James T., *Steamboat Directory*, 101, 103, 105.
Lodwick, Kennedy, in steamboat trade, 112, 113; captain, 121, 135.
Lodwick, M. W., in steamboat trade, 112; captain, 135.
Lodwick, Preston, in steamboat trade, 112; captain, 135.
Lodwick, W., river captain, 125.
Logan, John A., Democratic leader, 68; Republican, 68–72, 75, 76.
Long, Gabriel, river pilot, 135.
Long Prairie (Minn.), Winnebago remove to, 209.
Longfellow, H. W., *Hiawatha*, 87.
Longworth, Mrs. Alice R., christens river-boat, 101.
Looney, A. H., river pilot, 135.
Looney, Frank H., river pilot, 135.
Looney, Morrell M., river pilot, 135.
Looney, Robert, river captain, 135.
Louisiana, grants steamboat monopoly, 100, 104.
"Louisville," steamboat, 127.
Louisville (Ky.), shipyards at, 105.
Lovejoy, Owen P., Illinois statesman, 62, 63, 65, 76.
"Lowell," river dredge, 147.
Lucas, M. E., river captain, 135.
"Lucie May," steamboat, 141.
"Lucy Bertram," steamboat, 116, 120, 134.
"Luella," steamboat, 115, 119, 127, 128, 129, 134.
Lusk, D. M., publisher, 98.
Lyon, ——, river captain, 135.
Lyons, ——, river captain, 135.
"Lynx," steamboat, 115, 116, 139–141.

"M. O. Fulton," steamboat, 140.
McAllister, Duncan, boat carpenter, 135.
McAllister, R. C., river captain, 135.
McBride, John, river captain, 135.
McCaffrey, John, river captain, 135.
McCain, J. B., river engineer, 135.
McCain, John, river pilot, 136.
McCauly, Jerry, La Crosse pioneer, 203.
McClellan, Gen. George B., married, 184.
McClernand, John H., Illinois congressman, 68.
McClintock, ——, river captain, 136.
McClune, J. S., in steamboat trade, 136.
McClure, Alexander K., *Lincoln and Men of War Times*, 69.
McClure, P. F., "Dakota," 95.
McCormick Harvester Company, uses Appleby patents, 180.
McCoy, E. M., river captain, 136.
McCoy, J. B., river pilot, 136.
McCraney, William, river engineer, 136.
McCullough, Joseph, river pilot, 136.
McDermaid, John, "Albemarle" survivor, 59.
McDonald, George, river engineer, 136.
McDowell, Thomas, La Crosse pioneer, 218.
McGinnis, James C., river pilot, 136.
McGuire, ——, river captain, 136.
McGuire, R., river clerk, 136.
McKagan, Edward, river captain, 136.
McKeesport (Pa.), shipyards, 105.

Index

Mackinac, route via, 149, 150; British garrison, 172, 174; American, 150, 186; *Register*, 149.
McKinney (misprinted McKinley), James, Illinois congressman, 69.
McLaren, ——, steamboat clerk, 136.
McLean, Daniel, river pilot, 136.
McMahon, ——, river captain, 136.
McMurchy, James, river engineer, 136.
Macomb, Gen. Alexander, report, 111, 112.
McPhail, "Sandy," river pilot, 136.
McPherson, Edward, *Political History of Rebellion*, 66, 67, 70–72; *Reconstruction*, 75.
McPherson, P., steamboat clerk, 136.
McPike, A., in steamboat trade, 136.
McVey, J. C., steamboat clerk, 136.
Madison *Democrat*, proof-reader, 98.
Magan, ——, steamboat clerk, 136.
Magazine of Western History, 89.
Maguire, W. H., "Samuel T. Hauser," 89.
Mahon, Frank, steamboat clerk, 136.
"Maid of Iowa," steamboat, 131.
Maitland, John H., steamboat clerk, 136.
Malin, J. W., river captain, 136.
"Malta, steamboat, 145.
Mames, P. M., river engineer, 136.
Mames, W. R., river engineer, 136.
Mandan, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
Manitoba, joins Dominion, 84.
Manitowoc, meaning of name, 161, 162; pioneers, 160, 168; *Lake Shore Times*, 160.
Manitowoc County Historical Society dedicates monument, 163; report, 55, 56, 160.
Manning, Charles, river pilot, 136.
"Mansfield," steamboat, 119, 139.
Maquoketa Chute, steamboat collision at, 143.
Maratta, Frank, river captain, 136.
Marcy, Ellen, married, 184.
Marcy, Lieut. Randolph B., at Fort Howard, 184.
Marietta (O.), shipyards, 105.
Markham, J. A., on advisory committee, Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
Marks, ——, fur-trader, 209.
Marsden, S. R., river captain, 136.
"Martha," steamboat, 141.
Martin, C. D., river captain, 137.
Martin, Elizabeth Smith, "Visit to Fort Howard in 1836," 181–187; sketch, 181.
Martin, Melvin, river engineer, 137.
Martin, Morgan L., "Narrative," 181.
"Mary Blaine," steamboat, 143.
"Mary C.," steamboat, 121.
"Mary Morton," steamboat, 118, 136, 137.
Mason, Isaac M., river captain, 136.
Massey, Louis, river pilot, 137.
Matchett, E. J., vice-president Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
Mather, Charles C., steamboat clerk, 137.
Maumee City (O.), route via, 190.
Maxwell, O. H., river captain, 137.
Maxwell, Sam, river engineer, 137.
May, James, river captain, 137.
Meany, E. S., *History of State of Washington*, 88.
"Mechanic," steamboat, 107.
Medill, Joseph, supports Lincoln, 76.
"Medora," steamboat, 136.
Melville, George R., steamboat clerk, 137.
Memoirs of Henry Villard, 79.
"Mendota," steamboat, 115, 134, 140, 144.
Menominee Indians, habitat, 162, 171; relations with British, 171, 172; French, 172; effect of contact with whites, 172, 173; warn Dousman, 150; at Keshena, 151; Manitowoc, 168.
"Menomonie," steamboat, 217.
"Mermaid," steamboat, 126, 127, 136.
Merriam, George S., *Life and times of Samuel Bowles*, 73.
Merrick, Alfred, river pilot, 137.
Merrick, George B., uncle, 147; sketch, 98; "Genesis of Steam Navigation," 97–148; *Genealogy of Merrick Family*, 98; *Old Times on Upper Mississippi*, 56, 98, 107, 108, 126.
Merrick, Laban H., steamboat agent, 137.
Merrill, S. S., railroad conductor, 58.
Methodists among Oneida, 152, 153, 155, 156; conferences, 152, 154; at La Crosse, 212.
"Metropolitan," steamboat, 119, 132, 141.
Meyers, William, river engineer, 138.
"Michigan," steamboat, 136.
Michigan City (Ind.), route via, 192, 193.
Middleton, ——, river captain, 138.
Miles, E. R., steamboat clerk, 138.
Miller, ——, river captain, 138.

Miller, H. J. B., Wisconsin pioneer, 202, 207, 208, 214.
Milwaukee, route via, 188.
"Milwaukee," steamboat, 121, 130, 131, 134, 144.
Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway, agent, 144.
"Minneapolis," steamboat, 118, 119, 130, 134.
Minnesota, sends settlers into Dakotas, 83; *Historical Collections*, 108, 118.
Minnesota Packet Company, 98, 113, 115–119, 121–124, 126–128, 131–133, 135–141, 143–148.
"Minnesota," steamboat, 125, 130, 141.
"Minnesota Belle," steamboat, 126, 130. 131, 145, 146.
Mississippi and Ohio Pilot's Association, 133.
"Missouri Belle," steamboat, 115.
"Missouri Fulton," steamboat, 109, 121, 122, 140, 143.
Missouri Gazette, 101, 107.
Mitchell, A., river captain, 138.
Mohler, William B., river captain, 138.
"Mollie Mohler," steamboat, 128, 130.
"Monarch," gun-boat, 146.
"Mondiana," steamboat, 141.
"Monona," steamboat, 121, 126, 131, 146.
"Monsoon," steamboat, 124.
Montague, L. R., aid acknowledged, 215.
Montana, Indians in, 83; organized as territory, 77; mining population, 79, 88; growth, 80, 89; statehood desired, 87; constitution adopted, 89; admitted, 91, 93.
"Montauk," steamboat, 120, 124, 134, 139.
Montford, A. C., steamboat clerk, 138.
Montford, A. G., river captain, 138.
Montgomery, Edward, river captain, 138.
Montgomery, James, river pilot, 138.
Moore, Frank, steamboat clerk, 138.
Moore, Seth, river pilot, 138.
Moorehouse, D. B., river captain, 138.
Moorehouse, Legrand, river captain, 138.
Moreau, Louis, river pilot, 138.
Morland, A. B., steamboat clerk, 138.
Mormons, settle near La Crosse, 203; coulee named for, 218.
"Morning Star," steamboat, 118.
Morrison, Charles C., river captain, 138.
Morrison, James, mate of river-boat, 138.
Morse, Edward, river pilot, 138.
"Moses McLellan," steamboat, 122, 130, 137.
Moss, Henderson, on river-boat, 138.
Moulton, Isaac H., river captain, 138; aid acknowledged, 97.
Moulton, Thomas, steamboat clerk, 139.
Mukwonago, pioneer, 58.
Mulford, Charles, steamboat clerk, 139.
Mullen, William P., steamboat clerk, 139.
Mundy's Landing, boat sunk at, 117.
"Muscatine," steamboat, 127.
"Muskingum," steamboat, 127.
Myrick, Nathan, La Crosse pioneer, 203, 207, 212, 214; sketch, 202.

NASHOTAH Seminary, Indian student, 157.
Nauvoo (Ill.), Mormons at, 203.
Navarino, part of Green Bay, 181, 183.
"Navigator," steamboat, 121.
Neill, Rev. E. D., "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling," 108.
"Neiville," steamboat, 108.
"Nellie," steamboat, 147.
"Nellie Kent," steamboat, 133.
"New Boston," steamboat, 144.
"New Haven," steamboat, 133.
New Mexico, desires statehood, 81, 87, 92, 93; in omnibus bill, 91.
"New Orleans," steamboat, described, 101, 102; namesake christened, 101.
"New St. Paul," steamboat, 117, 122, 129.
Newton, J., river captain, 139.
New York *Nation*, 73, 74, 94; *Tribune*, 74, 75, 77.
Nichols, ——, pioneer lumberman, 205.
Nichols, George, river pilot, 139.
Nichols, George S., river pilot, 139.
Nichols, Thomas, river pilot, 139.
Nicolet, Jean, explorer, 170.
Ninth Iowa Infantry, sutler, 117.
"Nominee," steamboat, 98, 115, 118, 119, 127, 129, 131, 134, 136, 139, 143, 148.
Norris, James C., river pilot, 139.
North Carolina, reconstruction planned, 71.
"North Star," steamboat, 140.
"Northern Belle," steamboat, 121, 122, 128, 131, 132, 134, 135.
"Northern Light," steamboat, 115, 116, 118, 122–126, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 138, 140.

Northern Pacific Railway, effect on settlement, 78, 79, 83, 88, 89, 95; agent, 147.
Northern Steamboat Line, 118, 119, 121, 128, 130, 134, 136, 137, 139, 141, 144, 146.
"Northerner," steamboat, 114, 118, 147, 148.
Northrup, Milton H., *Life of Samuel Sullivan Cox*, 91, 95.
Northwestern Union Packet Company, founder, 122; captains, 123, 124.
Norwalk (O.), route via, 189.
Nourse, I. R., steamboat clerk, 139.

"Oakland," steamboat, 138.
"Oben C. Pike," steamboat, 117.
Oberholtzer, E. P., *Jay Cooke*, 79.
"Ocean Wave," steamboat, 99, 114, 115, 119, 121, 122, 126, 132, 137, 142, 144, 146.
Ochsner, E. D., vice-president Sauk County Historical Society, 57.
"O'Connell," steamboat, 124.
"Odd Fellow," steamboat, 121.
Ogallala, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
Ogeemawnee, Menominee chief, certificate for, 172.
Oglesby, Richard G., governor of Illinois, 69; supports Grant, 75.
Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company, 99–101.
"Ohio," steamboat, 115, 135.
Oklahoma, proposed as territory, 87.
Oldenburg, William, river engineer, 139.
"Olive Branch," steamboat, 119, 130, 131, 144.
"Omega," steamboat, 133, 143.
Oneida Indians, parties, 152, 155; missions for, 152–159; characterized, 157–159.
"Orb," steamboat, 144.
Ordway, U. G., governor of Dakota, 82; report, 79.
"Oregon," steamboat, 134.
"Orleans." See "New Orleans."
"Osage," steamboat, 126, 134, 145.
Osborne, Robert G., river pilot, 139.
Oshkosh, Menominee sachem, ancestors, 172; appearance, 175; statue presented to city, 170; sketch, 174.
Oshkosh, pioneers, 170, 171, 173, 174; choice of name, 174; *Northwestern*, 124.
"Osprey," steamboat, 115, 136, 139.
"Oswego," steamboat, 141.
Ottawa Indian, habitat, 162.
"Otter," steamboat, 129, 131.
Owens, ——, steamboat clerk, 139.
Owens, Thomas, river captain, 139.

Page, H. K., secretary Sauk County Historical Society, 57.
Page, John B., river pilot, 133, 139.
Paine, R. D., *Greater America*, 85.
Palmer, ——, steamboat clerk, 139.
Palmer, John M., Illinois congressman, 72–75; *Personal Recollections*, 68.
"Palmyra," steamboat, 121, 138.
Papin, A. D., on river-boat, 139.
Paquette, Moses, cited, 209.
"Parke, J. G.," government steamer, 99.
Parker, Charles H., manufacturer, 178–180.
Parker, J. W., river captain, 139.
Parker, N. W., river captain, 139.
Parkhurst, L., steamboat clerk, 139.
Parsons, L. S., steamboat clerk, 139.
"Patriot," steamboat, 125, 132.
"Patrol," government steamboat, 132.
Patten, Charles H., river engineer, 139; cited, 106.
Patten, Henry M., river captain, 139.
Patterson, ——, river captain, 140.
Patterson, Thomas M., delegate to Congress, 81.
"Pavillion," steamboat, 135.
"Pawnee," steamboat, 126.
Paxson, Frederic L., "Admission of Omnibus States," 77–96.
Peake, C. G., on river-boat, 140.
"Pearl," steamboat, 128, 138.
Pearman, ——, steamboat clerk, 140.
Pease, Verne S., "Count Agoston Haraszthy," 110.
"Pedro," Judge Irvin's horse, 185, 186.
Pelton, S. A., vice-president Sauk County Historical Society, 57.
Pembina, proposed name for Dakota, 83.
"Pembina," steamboat, 120, 128, 130, 132.
Perham, Josiah, promotes Northern Pacific, 78.
Perrin, ——, steamboat clerk, 140.
Perrysburgh (O.), route via, 189.
Phillips, A., in steamboat trade, 140.
"Phil Sheridan," steamboat, 128, 138, 147.
Philumalee, David, river man, 140.
Piatt, James, river engineer, 140.
Pickett, ——, Sparta pioneer, 216.
Pierce, Franklin, supporters, 61, 62.
Pierce, Gov. Gilbert A., report, 84.
Pierce, George S., river captain, 140.

Pierz, N. V., steamboat clerk, 140.
Pittsburgh (Pa.), celebrates centennial of first Ohio River steamboat, 101; shipyards, 100–102, 105.
"Pittsburgh," steamboat, 118.
"Pizarro," steamboat, 129.
Plasterage, ——, river captain, 140.
Platt, Orville H., Connecticut senator, 88, 92, 93; reports, 86, 92.
Platt, Thomas C., New York senator, 77.
Plumb, R. G., secretary of Manitowoc County Historical Society, 56.
Poe, Daniel, missionary among Oneida, 152.
Polleys, La Crosse pioneer, 214.
Pomeroy, C. W., steamboat clerk, 140.
"Pomeroy," steamboat, 116.
Pontiac, conspiracy, 171.
Porlier, Jacques, at Butte des Morts, 170.
Porter, J. W., river engineer, 140.
Porter, Rolland L., letter, 58; reads paper, 59.
Porter, R. P., *West from Census of 1880*, 80.
Porter, S. E., on river-boat, 140.
Potawatomi Indians, habitat, 162.
"Potosi," steamboat, 115.
Powers, I., steamboat clerk, 140.
Poyner, Thomas, mate of river-boat, 140.
"Prairie Bird," steamboat, 146.
Prairie du Chien, pioneers, 201, 202; mail service, 206.
"Prairie Rose," steamboat, 136.
"Prairie State," steamboat, 116, 145.
Pratt, O. H., steamboat clerk, 140.
"Pre-emption," steamboat, 129.
Prentice, ——, builds river-boat, 106.
Prentice, David, inventor, 103.
Presbyterians, at La Crosse, 214.
Prescott, *Northwestern Democrat*, 98; *Paraclete*, 113.
Price, Enoch, steamboat clerk, 140.
Price, H., river captain, 140.
Priest, ——, steamboat clerk, 140.
Primm, Louis, river pilot, 140.
Prince, L. B., *New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood*, 87.
"Progress," steamboat, 127.
Pyatte, Larkin L., river engineer, 140.
Pym, John S., steamboat clerk, 140.
"Pynx," steamboat, 145.

"Quickstep," (Alaska) steamboat, 142.
"Quickstep," (Miss. R.), steamboat, 117.
"Quincy," steamboat, 99, 120, 124.
Quincy Packet Company, founder, 136.
Quinney, Miss ——, married, 152.

Radebaugh, George, river engineer, 140.
Ralph, Julian, "Dakotas," 95.
Rambo, Joseph, river engineer, 140.
Randall, Alexander W., Wisconsin statesman, 62, 70, 73.
Randall, George, river pilot, 140.
Randolph, W. L., on river-boat, 140.
Ranous, James, Mukwonago pioneer, 58.
"Rapidan," steamboat, 133.
"Raritan," steamboat, 141.
Rawlins, John, river captain, 140.
Ray, Samuel, Illinois pioneer, 194, 195.
Raymond, D. F., steamboat clerk, 141.
Read, Jacob, master of "Pike," 107.
Redlington, John, steamboat clerk, 141.
"Red Rover," steamboat, 109, 120, 145.
"Red Wing," steamboat, 116, 125, 127, 146, 148.
Red Wing Landing, "Galena" burned at, 122, 132, 134, 137, 140.
Reed, William, on river-boat, 141.
Reeder, C. T., steamboat clerk, 141.
Reid, J., river captain, 141.
Reilly, E. I., steamboat clerk, 141.
Reilly, Robert A., river captain, 141.
"Relief," steamboat, 129.
Reno, ——, river captain, 141.
Rentdorff, Edmond, river clerk, 110.
Repplin, ——, steamboat clerk, 141.
Republicans, in Illinois, 61; Wisconsin, 61; party formed, 60–66; changes 67–76.
"Rescue," steamboat 132.
"Reserve," steamboat, 134.
"Revenue Cutter," steamboat, 136, 146.
Reynolds, T. Otis, river captain, 141.
Rhoads, T. F., leads singing, 59.
Rhodes, J. B., river captain, 141.
Rhodes, L. B., river captain, 141.
Rhodes, Thomas B., river captain, 141.
Rhodes, William H., in steamboat trade, 123.
Rice, Henry M., conducts removal of Winnebago, 213.
Richland (O.), route via, 189.
Richardson, ——, veteran, 58.
Richardson, William A., Illinois senator, 67, 69.
Richmond, F. C., on advisory committee Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
Richmond, Frank, presents memorial, 58.

Riel, Louis, rebellion of, 142.
Ring, W. B., on river-boat, 141.
Rissue, George, river captain, 141.
Ritchey, L. K., river engineer, 141.
River Improvement Association, report, 113.
Rivers: Auxplaines—see Desplaines. Big Sioux, 83. Black, 110, 201–203, 206, 207, 214, 217. Cheyenne, 77. Chippewa, 110, 147. Des Moines, 125, 145. Desplaines, 195. Fever, 140. Fox, 170–174, 181, 183. Hudson, 99–101. Illinois, 115. James (Dak.), 83. La Crosse, 203. Little Big Horn, 77. Manitowoc, 161, 168. Memee—see Pigeon. Minnesota, trading post on, 108; steamboats, 116, 119, 130, 132, 137, 141, 142, 146. Mishicott, 163. Mississippi, 97–148. Missouri, 79, 83, 107, 109, 111, 112, 117–119, 133, 143, 145–147. Neshoto, 161, 164, 166. Nile, 142, 146. Ohio, 101–105, 122, 137, 145, 146, 148. Pigeon, 162. Red (of North), 79, 83, 85, 117, 122. St. Croix, 98, 110, 118, 119, 132–137, 140, 141. Sandusky, 189. Saskatchewan, 142. Vermilion, 83. Wisconsin, 128, 216. Wolf, 175. Yukon, 142.
Roatt, V. K., on river-boat, 141.
Robbins, R. M., steamboat clerk, 141.
Robert, John O., river captain, 141.
Robert, Louis, river captain, 141.
Robert, Nelson, river captain, 141.
Robinson, A. A., on river-boat, 141.
Robinson, John, river captain, 141.
"Rock River," steamboat, 110, 111.
Roe, N. C., river captain, 141.
Rogers, Charles H., river captain, 141.
Rooney, John, "Making Maple Sugar on Banks of Honey Creek," 57.
Roosevelt, Nicholas J., promotes steamboat navigation, 99, 100.
Roosevelt, Theodore, grand-uncle, 100.
Roosevelt, William A., river engineer, 141.
"Rosalie," steamboat, 116, 119, 120, 142.
Ross, Charles, steamboat clerk, 142.
Rounds, ——, river captain, 142.
Rouse, Louis, Green Bay pioneer, 158.
Rowe, ——, river captain, 142.
Rowley, ——, river captain, 142.
"Royal Arch," steamboat, 126, 128, 143, 147.
"Rufus Putnam," steamboat, 108, 116.
Ruley, Russell, river captain, 142.
Rush Lake, route via, 198; pioneers, 200.
Russell, Capt. J. B. F., sketch, 108.
Ryan, George, river engineer, 142.

"St. Anthony," steamboat, 138.
St. Clifton, A. W., steamboat clerk, 144.
St. Croix Interstate Park, commissioner, 130.
"St. Croix," steamboat, 117, 120, 122, 146.
St. Louis, American garrison, 181; pioneers, 187, 201; *Republican*, 103, 107.
"St. Louis," steamboat, 107.
"St. Louis Oak," steamboat, 122, 141.
St. Louis Packet Company, 141.
St. Louis & Keokuk Packet Company, founder, 136.
St. Louis & Memphis Packet Company, founder, 118.
St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company, 137, 138.
"St. Paul," steamboat, 128, 129.
"St. Peters," steamboat, 130, 146.
St. Vrain, Mrs. Felix, river trip, 109.
Salomon, Edward, Wisconsin governor, 62.
Saltmarsh, ——, river captain, 142.
"Sam Gaty," steamboat, 146.
"Sam Young," steamboat, 141.
Sanderson,——, river captain, 142.
Sanford, Albert H., editor, 201.
"Sangamon," steamboat, 144.
"Saracen," steamboat, 121, 144.
"Sarah Ann," steamboat, 133 141.
Sargent, G. L., river engineer, 142.
Sauk County Historical Society, report, 56, 57.
"Savanna," steamboat, 137.
Schurz, Carl, in Chicago convention, 73, 74.
"Science," steamboat, 131.
"Sciota," steamboat, 109.
Scofield, Mrs. Bernard, brother-in-law, 126.
Scott, George W., river engineer, 142.
Scott, John, river captain, 142.
Scott, Capt. Martin, at Fort Howard, 183.
Segers, John, river captain, 142.
Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, earl, Red River colony of, 83.
"Senator," steamboat, 129, 136, 143.
Sencerbox, ——, river captain, 142.
"Shamrock," steamboat, 107, 137.
Shellcross, John, river captain, 142.

Index

Shepherd, J. C., steamboat clerk, 143.
Sherwin, Rev. John C., sketch, 214, 215.
Shiples, P., steamboat clerk, 143.
Short, George L., river pilot, 143.
Shousetown (Pa.), shipyards, 105.
Shovlin, Con, mate of river-boat, 143.
Shreve, Henry M., improves steamboat, 103–105; sketch, 103.
Silliman, Benjamin, on Mississippi River excursion, 99.
"Silver Lake," steamboat, 137.
Sinclair, C. B., La Crosse pioneer, 218.
Sinclair, W. F., La Crosse pioneer, 218.
Sinsinawa Mound College, student, 131.
Sioux Indians, on Cheyenne River, 77; report on, 83.
Sioux Falls (S. Dak.), statehood convention at, 81; constitutional, 82, 84, 85.
Sire, Joseph, river captain, 143.
Sloan, ——, river captain, 143.
"Smelter," steamboat, 129.
Smith, Ann Green, daughter, 181.
Smith, Donald A., completes Canadian Pacific, 84.
Smith, E. D., river captain, 143.
Smith, Elizabeth. See Martin.
Smith, Henry, mate of river-boat, 143.
Smith, I. G., steamboat clerk, 143.
Smith, J. F., river captain, 143.
Smith, J. P., mate of river-boat, 143.
Smith, Jerome, river pilot, 143.
Smith, John C., river captain, 143.
Smith, John E., river captain, 143.
Smith, Marcus A., delegate to Congress, 93.
Smith, Col. Melancthon, daughter, 181.
Smith, Orrin, river pilot, 143.
Smith, Orrin Jr., steamboat clerk, 143.
Smith, Orrin Sr., river captain, 98, 109, 114, 115, 143.
Smith, Mrs. S. F., Wisconsin pioneer, 188.
Smoker, ——, river captain, 143.
Snow (Snaugh), Dr. Samuel, La Crosse pioneer, 201–211.
Snowden, Clinton A., *History of Washington*, 80.
"South America," steamboat, 147.
Southern Minnesota Railroad, promoter, 214.
Sparta, first house at, 216.
Spaulding, Jacob, Black River Falls pioneer, 206.
Spaulding, L. R., steamboat clerk, 144.
Spencer, C. T., steamboat clerk, 144.
Spencer, R. M., river captain, 144.
Spier, Livia E., married, 153.
Spiers, Albert, Illinois pioneer, 194, 195.
Springer, William M., U. S. senator, 85, 86, 91.
Springfield (Mass.), *Weekly Republican*, 87.
Springville (Ind.), route via, 193.
Squire, Watson C., governor of Washington, report, 88.
Stanley, Webster, Oshkosh pioneer, 173, 174, 176.
Stanton, Frederick K., steamboat clerk, 144.
Starnes, ——, river captain, 144.
"Stella Whipple," steamboat, 130.
Stephens, A. C., river pilot, 144.
Stephens, John, steamboat clerk, 144.
Stephenson, Charles L., river captain, 144.
Stevens, Isaac I., governor of Washington, report, 78.
Stewart, ——, steamboat clerk, 144.
Stewart, C. P., river pilot, 144.
Stillwell, M., on river-boats, 144.
Stoddard, Thomas B., La Crosse pioneer, 213, 214.
Stombs, J. H., river engineer, 144.
Stone, Gustavus, manufacturer, 178, 180.
Stone, Philo, river pilot, 144.
Storm, C. S., steamboat clerk, 144.
Stran, H. R., river captain, 144.
Streckfus Steamship Line, 120.
Strode, W. F., steamboat clerk, 144.
Strother, R. M., river captain, 144.
Stuart, Charles P., river captain, 144.
Sturgis Prairie (Mich.), route via, 192.
"Sucker State," steamboat, 136.
"Sultana," steamboat, destroyed, 105, 106.
"Summit," steamboat, 137.
Sumner, Charles, U. S. senator, 72.
"Sutler," steamboat, 129.
Swartout, A. M., steamboat clerk, 144.
Swett, Leonard, Illinois statesman, 74.
Swingle, Frank B., "Story of Twine-Binder," 177–180.

Tacoma (Wash.), railway terminal, 79.
Taft, Pres. William H., at Ohio River centennial, 101.
Talbot, E., *My People of the Plains*, 78.
Taliaferro, Maj. Laurence, sketch, 108, 109.
Taylor, W. H., steamboat clerk, 144.

Index

Taylor, Col. Zachary, at Fort Crawford, 181.
"Tempest," steamboat, 143.
Terrell, H. C., steamboat clerk, 144.
Tesson, Frank, river pilot, 144.
Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry, private, 98; chaplain, 127.
Thirty-seventh Wisconsin Infantry, officer, 124.
Thomas, E. H., river pilot, 144.
"Thomas Jefferson," early lake steamer, 181.
Thompson, Charles M., aid acknowledged, 62.
Thompson, Orrin J., river pilot, 145.
Thorpe, Francis N., "Washington and Montana," 93; (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions*, 94.
Throckmorton, Joseph, river captain, 109, 111, 112, 126, 145.
Thurston, ——, river captain, 145.
Thwaites, Reuben G., "Oshkosh, Menominee Sachem," 170–176.
Tibbals, Charles S., steamboat clerk, 145.
Tibbals, Norman E., river pilot, 131, 145.
Tibbals, Williams R., river captain, 126, 131, 132, 145; "Genesis of Steam Navigation," 97–145; sketch, 98–100.
"Tidal Wave," steamboat, 117.
"Tiger," steamboat, 137.
Tilden, Samuel J., presidential nominee, 81.
"Time and Tide," steamboat, 129, 131, 141.
Tipton, David, river pilot, 195.
"Tishomingo," steamboat, 132, 141.
Tomah, Menominee chief, aids British, 174.
Tomlin, ——, river captain, 145.
Tompkins, Daniel D., promotes steamboat navigation, 99.
Toole, J. K., delegate to Congress, speech, 89.
Totten, G. B., steamboat clerk, 145.
Tracy, Charles F., steamboat clerk, 145.
Tracy, E. N., steamboat clerk, 145.
Tracy, F. B., *Tercentenary History of Canada*, 84.
Tracy, H. W., steamboat clerk, 145.
"Traveller," keel-boat, 120.
Trempealeau County Historical Society, report, 57, 58.
Trentanove, Chevalier Gætano, artist, 170.
"Trenton," steamboat, 116.
Tripp, Harry, river pilot, 145
Tromley, George, river pilot, 117, 145.
Troxell, James, river engineer, 145.
Troy, ——, river captain, 145.
Truett, ——, river captain, 145.
Trumbull, Lyman, Illinois congressman, 61, 63, 65–67, 72, 73, 75, 76.
Turner, J. M., river captain, 145.
Turner, Thomas, Illinois statesman, 63.
Turner, W. J., steamboat clerk, 146.
Turner, W. J., river engineer, 146.
Turpie, David, Indiana congressman, 87.
Tuttle, D. S., *Reminiscences of Missionary Bishop*, 78.

"Uncle Toby," steamboat, 116, 121, 123.
United States, Congress, debates in, 81–96; delegate, 131; *Census*, 80, 95; public documents cited, 78, 79, 81–86, 88, 89, 91–93, 112.
Unsell, E. J., on river-boat, 146.
Upham, R. H., river captain, 146.
Usher, Ellis B., La Crosse pioneer, 201; father, 148.
Utah, desires statehood, 81, 87.

Van Buren, Pres. Martin, appointments, 103.
"Vandalia," steamboat, 132.
Van Dyke, W. W., steamboat clerk, 146.
Van Houten, ——, river captain, 146.
Van Sant, S. R., steamboat owner, 118.
Vermilion (S. Dak.), university at, 87.
Vest, George G., senator from Missouri, 82, 84.
"Vesuvius," steamboat, 102.
Vickers, ——, river captain, 146.
Villard, Henry, railroad financier, 79.
"Virginia," steamboat, 108, 140, 142.
"Vixen," steamboat, 137.
"Volant," steamboat, 110.
Vorheis, ——, river captain, 146.

"W. H. Denny," steamboat, 114, 135, 139.
"W. L. Ewing," steamboat, 127, 141, 143.
"W. S. Nelson," steamboat, 132.
Walker, George W., river engineer, 146.
Wall, Nick, river captain, 146.
Walla Walla (Wash.), constitutional convention at, 80.
Waller, Mrs. S. B., vocalist, 59.
Wampum (The). See Waumegasako.
Ward, Frank, steamboat clerk, 146.
Ward, James, river captain, 146.

Index

"War Eagle," steamboat, 116–123, 125–128, 130, 132, 133, 138, 144–146, 148, 217.
Warner, M. J., vice-president Trempealeau County Historical Society, 58.
"Warrior," steamboat, 109, 111, 126, 143, 145, 147.
Wars: 1812–15, 150, 163, 174. Black Hawk, 174.
Washburn, C. C., Wisconsin statesman, 61, 71, 73.
Washburne, E. B., Illinois statesman, 61, 63, 65, 71.
Washington, organized as territory, 77, 78; growth, 80; constitutional convention, 80, 81; statehood desired, 87; anti-Chinese riots, 88; omnibus bill includes, 91; admitted, 92.
"Washington," steamboat, 103–105.
Watertown, route via, 198.
Watts, William, murderer, 218.
Waukesha, first train to, 58.
Waukesha County Historical Society report, 58, 59.
Waumegasako, Indian chief, 162, 163.
"Wave," steamboat, 137.
"Waverly," steamboat, 118.
Wayman, John, river engineer, 146.
Webb, L. E., steamboat clerk, 146.
Webb, N. F., river captain, 146.
Webber, Jerry, river captain, 117, 146.
Webster, Daniel, favors compromise of 1850, 62.
Webster, Henry, river engineer, 146.
Weed, Thurlow, opposes Lincoln's nomination, 74; *Autobiography*, 74; on excursion, 99.
Weeks, George S., boat-builder, 147.
Weld, Eben, Indian trader, 202.
Wellington, William E., in steamboat trade, 123.
Wellington (O.), emigrants from, 188.
Wells Landing, cyclone at, 133.
"Wenona," steamboat, 119, 132.
Wentworth, John, Illinois statesman, 62, 63.
West, Edward A., river pilot, 147.
West, Judson T., river pilot, 147.
"West Newton," steamboat, 98, 129, 148.
"Western Belle," steamboat, 118, 140.
Western Reserve College, 214.
Wettenhall, Mrs. F., father, 126.
Wheeling (W. Va.), shipyards, 105.
Wheelock, Mrs. ——, Oneida Indian, 157.
Whigs, join Republican party, 61, 62.
Whipple, Charles, river captain, 147.
Whipple, William J., publisher, 98.
White, ——, river captain, 147.
White, D. C., La Crosse pioneer, 203, 209.
White, Hugh, river pilot, 147.
White, S., keel-boat owner, 147.
White, William, on river-boat, 125; signs license, 132; pilot, 147.
"White Cloud," steamboat, 114.
White Pigeon (Mich.), route via, 192.
Whitewater, first train to, 58.
Whitman, Dr. Marcus, pioneer, 88.
Whitmore, Henry, river engineer, 147.
Whitney, Andrew J., in steamboat trade, 147.
Whitney, Asa, projects Northern Pacific, 78.
Whitney, F. A., river engineer, 147.
Whitney, Rev. J. S., missionary among Oneida, 153.
Whitney, Mrs. Helen A., member of Waukesha County Historical Society, 58.
Whitten, David, river captain, 147.
Wilcox, ——, visits La Crosse, 212.
Wilcox, "Bull-driver," mate of river-boat, 148.
Wilcox, Joseph B., river captain, 147.
Williams, Eleazer, missionary among Oneida, 152, 155.
Williams, J. B., river engineer, 148.
Williams, John, Indian, 166.
Williams, Rufus, river pilot, 148.
"Willie Wilson," steamboat, 141.
Willson, B., *Lord Strathcona*, 84.
Wilson, G. H., river captain, 148.
Wilson, Lemuel, river engineer, 106.
Wilson, William, mate of river-boat, 148.
Winnebago Indians, habitat, 162; chief, 163; removal to Long Prairie, 201, 209, 213; council, 209, 210.
"Winnebago," steamboat, 132, 145.
"Winona," steamboat, 128, 130.
"Wiota," steamboat, 141.
Wisconsin, early Republican leaders, 61–63, 66, 67, 71, 73; Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Transactions*, 87, 162; Archæological Society, 59; *Archæologist*, 160; Historical Society, 117, 154, 162, 172; *Collections*, 149, 150, 152, 155, 162, 181, 183, 197, 201, 209, 211, 212, 214; *Proceedings*, 70, 110, 162, 163, 197, 198, 203, 204; University, 98.

Index

"Wisconsin," steamboat, 116, 122, 124–126, 145.
Wister, Owen, *Virginian,* 94; *Members of Family,* 94.
Wood, ——, Methodist missionary, 212.
Wood, J. S., river captain, 148.
Woodburn, ——, river captain, 148.
Woodman, William, interpreter, 156.
Woodruff, ——, river captain, 148.
Woods, Jerry, river captain, 148.
Woodward, Asa B., river captain, 148.
Worden, Jones, river captain, 115, 147, 148.
Worsham, H. M., steamboat clerk, 148.
Wright, John, river captain, 148.
Wright, Samuel F., river engineer, 148.
"Wyandotte," steamboat, 140.
Wyoming, organized as territory, 77, 87; growth, 80; anti-Chinese riots, 88; constitutional convention, 92; admitted, 93.
"Wyoming," steamboat, 139, 141.

"YANKEE," steamboat, 115, 126, 129, 142, 143.
Yankton (S. Dak.) legislature at, 79.
Yankton County (S. Dak.), repudiates railroad bonds, 82.
Yates, Richard, Illinois statesman, 61, 69, 73, 76.
Yazoo Pass, troops pass through, 117.
"York," Judge Irvin's dog, 185, 186.
"York State," steamboat, 128, 146.
Young, Augustus R., river captain, 148.
Young, Jesse B., mate of river-boat, 148.
Young, Josiah, river engineer, 148.
Young, Leonard, river engineer, 148.
Yunker, Stephen, river captain, 148.

"ZEBULON M. PIKE," steamboat, 106, 107.

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